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ARNOUT ENCAMPMENT WITH A VIEW OF MOUNT KOHM.

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TRAVELS

IN

EUROPEAN TURKEY,

IN 1850,

THROUGH BOSNIA, SERVIA, BULGARIA, MACEDONIA, THRACE, ALBANIA, AND EPIRUS; WITH A VISIT TO GREECE AND THE IONIAN ISLES.

AND

A HOMEWARD TOUR THROUGH HUNGARY AND THE SLAVONIAN PROVINCES OF AUSTRIA ON THE LOWER DANUBE.

BY EDMUND SPENCER, ESQ.

AUTHOR OF "TRAVELS IN CIRCASSIA," "TRAVELS IN THE WESTERN CAUCASUS," ETC.

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CROSSING THE MORAVA IN THE UPPER BALKAN . . *Frontispiece*

ENCAMPMENT OF THE MOHAMETAN REBEL GIULIKA, ON MOUNT SCRAPARI . . . . . *Vignette*

PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS.

FOUR centuries have passed away since the Crescent replaced the Cross on the dome of Saint Sophia, and the empire of Constantine crumbled before the might of Othman; four centuries of ever increasing intellect, civilization and prosperity. Nations, then semi-barbaric, have not only emerged from the darkness of the middle ages into the full light of the great epoch in which we now live, but their population, as it were culminating from the very acmé of civilization, have borne their talent, industry, and energy, to the most distant regions of the habitable globe. The wilderness has been cultivated, and the desert peopled; cities have been founded, and railroads laid down in what were, at the period of the Ottoman conquest, the undisturbed solitudes of primæval nature; and nations, great and powerful, have sprung into existence in quarters of the globe then undiscovered. Yet when the traveller, fresh from the busy scenes of active life, industry, and usefulness, visits the

land of the Crescent, expecting to meet with similar evidences of progress and improvement, and seeing none, exclaims: Where are the monuments of the power and the energy of the mighty people who laid the Christian empire of the East in the dust? Where are the proofs that they have for four centuries held dominion over one of the most beautiful and fertile countries in our hemisphere? Where!—the undrained marsh, the sand-choked river, the grass-grown market-place, the deserted field, the crumbling fortress, the broken arch; these re-echo, Where! Stagnation, death-like stagnation, has ever characterized the rule of the race of Othman.

Crushed and degraded below the level of humanity, generation after generation of the unhappy Christians of these provinces of European Turkey have passed away like the leaves of the forest, without leaving a vestige behind to tell that they existed. Unheeded and uncared for by those nations of Europe, who were employing every energy to reclaim from his savage state the swarthy son of distant India and Africa, and make him a participator in the blessings of civilization and revealed religion, forgetful of the shame and reproach that lay at their very threshold; forgetful that while the life-blood of Europe quickened the extremities of the universe, a portion of her very self remained torpid and corpse-like.

The dawn of a brighter day has, however, at length arisen on the night of Turkish misrule; a touch of the Promethean fire of the Spirit of the Age has kindled the hearts of this neglected and uncared-for people; awaken-

ing, as it were, from a trance to a consciousness of their own power, to an appreciation of that lofty destiny, from which they have been for centuries excluded; wherever we wander in these provinces, whether on the summit of the highest mountain, or the secluded valley, on the banks of the Danube, or the shores of the sea, we perceive indications of a movement—evidences of a determination in the people to emancipate themselves from the degrading bondage in which they are held by their Mahometan rulers.

What a vital question is then the future destiny of these people for the other countries of Europe; here we have, so to speak, the molten ore of which nations are cast in fusion at our very door. Let the statesmen of civilized Europe look to it, and may some skilful hand be found in the hour of emergency to make a way fo the seething mass to flow in its predestined mould of a great and powerful community, else they may repent, when too late, if they allow it to burst its barrier, and volcano-like spread ruin and desolation around.

Such is the country and the people we have endeavoured to portray to the reader: in doing so we have divested ourselves of prejudice in every statement we have made; for however much we might sympathize for those who suffer, we have invented nothing, perverted nothing, exaggerated nothing.

Having already made an extensive tour in Asiatic and European Turkey, and given a description of our tour in a previous work, we were no strangers either to the country, the language, or the manners of the people; but since the progress of events has brought these countries of Eastern Europe into prominent notice, and knowing the anomalous position of the inhabitants, with reference to their rulers, towards whom they entertain no sympathy of race, nor for the most part of religion, we were again induced in 1847 and 1850 to become a Nomade, and visit those districts we had neglected during a former tour, and more carefully study the political bias of a people destined, ere long, to play an important part in the political drama of the world.

In our pictures of European Turkey and those provinces of Austria on the Lower Danube, composed of so many nationalities, and so little known to the civilized communities of Western Europe, our aim has been to describe the customs and manners of the people, their moral, political, and social condition; to which we have added occasional sketches of their ancient and contemporary history, present state of civilization, and future prospects. We have also alluded to the varied productions of the soil and its capabilities; the state of agriculture, commerce, and industry, and shown the numerous advantages these fine provinces possess in their mountains and defiles, fertile valleys and plains, encircling seas and navigable rivers, when considered in a commercial and political point of view.

In a country so depopulated, so frequently the theatre of insurrection, and where the executive is weak, it may be as well to mention that a tour in European Turkey is not without danger. In the mountains, the traveller must be on the look-out for those daring children of the mist—the Haiducs and Ouskoks; he has also to fear the hostility of some rebel band of non-reforming Mahometans in Bosnia and Albania. Again, in the wild districts, he may have to depend upon his gun for a supper, and to submit with all laudable resignation to stretch his weary limbs on the bosom of mother earth. For although there are Hans and Karaouls as resting places, they are so few and far between, that we may ride a long summer's day without finding one, and then they are always so dirty and miserable, that the traveller would do well, if the weather permits, to bivouac in the open air, as the climate is one of the most healthy and delightful in the world.

The want of any direct communication between the various provinces by means of roads, is the first difficulty with which the traveller has to contend; a horse-path is the only substitute, everywhere in the mountains execrable. It is true, we occasionally meet with something resembling a paved road, about two feet in width, of great antiquity, no doubt originally constructed for the use of the pack-horse, that being the only means of transporting merchandise; consequently, the traveller must depend for his conveyance on his skill as an equestrian, and truly a ride across the mountains of

European Turkey may be deemed a neck-breaking exploit. At one time, we are compelled to follow the windings of the bed of a dried-up torrent, at another to ascend the dizzy height of a yawning abyss, or dive into the depths of a gloomy defile, where a false step would be sufficient to plunge horse and rider into eternity. Then the mountainous character of the country renders the climate so variable, that by a few hours' ride we exchange the balmy breezes of the sunny south, for the piercing blasts of the wintry north.

The annoyances of the traveller, who may select these provinces of European Turkey as the theatre of his researches, are not yet enumerated, and one of the greatest is unquestionably the difficulty of holding converse with the inhabitants, composed as they are of so many nationalities, each speaking a different language, or some distinct idiom of its own. In the sea-ports of Albania, and Roumelia, the Italian language will be found useful, and German and Spanish, if the traveller comes in contact with a Jew; but once in the interior, all converse ceases, unless he is acquainted with some dialect of the Slavonian.

Notwithstanding our catalogue of perils and annoyances, the traveller who possesses a good constitution, a little prudence, and the power of assuming a certain bold bearing, mingling the *fortiter in re* with the *suaviter in modo*, will not only improve his general health, but find many attractions in this sort of nomadic life. He cannot, it is true, expect any great variety in the companions of his everyday life, but when he does

meet with his fellow-men, and fearlessly reposes his safety in their good faith, he is certain to be treated with kindness and hospitality. He must, however, throw aside all reserve, abandon all the exclusive prejudices and distinctions of civilized life, for among these democrats of the mountain, and the secluded valley, every man is equal, whether Frank traveller, pandour, or Kiraidji, swine-herd or agriculturist, merchant or caravan driver. If you sit down to enjoy the noon-day meal, it is more than probable that the Haiduc or the Ouskok, the shepherd or the Kiraidji, will sit down by your side, and exclaiming: "Fala bogu dobro!" or "Dobro jutro gospodin!" help himself to your dinner, as unceremoniously as if you had invited him.

It must be understood that these observations apply solely to the Christian population of European Turkey, and more particularly to the Slavonian race of whatever nationality; the Mahometan, whether European or Asiatic, is still exclusive—still regards a Giaour with contempt; when he meets, however, with a Frank who speaks his language, and possesses some quality that recommends him to his notice, he allows his icy reserve to thaw into civility, and fully equals the Christian in rendering all the services to a stranger which genuine hospitality can dictate. In order, however, to acquire the confidence and good-will of both, the traveller must not assume the Turkish costume, for this is not the home of the Osmanli, he is merely encamped in the land of the Christian; consequently he must look for his best friends among the Rayahs, and his character of

Frank is the surest passport to their esteem and regard. Above all, we would recommend the tourist in European Turkey to travel without ostentation, and in choosing his weapons, not to select those that are brilliantly mounted and valuable; a simple carbine, pistols, poniard, and sabre, will not excite attention, since they are the appendage of every man whose rank or profession may entitle him to use them in his defence.

TRAVELS

IN

EUROPEAN TURKEY.

CHAPTER I.

Arrival in Servia—Belgrade—First impressions—Passports—Han—Sketches of the town—Public promenade—Costume of the inhabitants—Visit to the Pacha of Belgrade—An awkward retreat—Preparations for a tour in the Land of the Crescent.

A TINY bark, manned by a party of stout Arnouts, lay waiting in the little port of Semlin, ready to waft us across the broad and rapid Danube. Here then behold us, on the verge of civilization, prepared to exchange its comforts and restraints, its formalities and refinements, its false cravings and high intellectuality, for the hardships, freedom and romance of Eastern travel; and we felt, as we stood for the last time on its northern shore, that the mighty stream now rolling at our feet, forms the line of separation between

active, noisy, toiling, and ever-progressing Europe, and the calm silence and mystery of the unchanged and unchanging Land of the Crescent.

Belgrade, with its domes and minarets—the Turkish flag waving from the fortress—lay before us. How many scenes of deadly strife do not its crumbling battlements recal to the memory of the traveller! Here it was that the proud hosts of Othman so often engaged the chivalry of Christendom; and here the fiery Hun and furious Turk, excited by religious fanaticism, fought with the determination of men resolved to conquer or die; and here we read, in the battered walls and yawning breach, a record of the prowess of the undaunted Savoyard, Prince Eugene.

The melting of the snow on the mountains, and the continued deluge of rain for several weeks, had swollen the Danube and the Save to a height far above their usual level, and they now formed a vast expanse of water, studded with tiny islets, among which our Arnout boatmen found it no easy task to pilot their bark in safety; and when at length we reached Belgrade, the insecure landing afforded by the slippery mud, together with the dilapidated state of the fortifications, did not tend to create favourable impressions in the mind of the traveller; as the Turks rarely repair anything, and the Servians naturally rejoice to see the stronghold of their hereditary oppressors falling into ruins.

In one respect, Belgrade has adopted the manners and customs of well-ordered continental Europe,—for

the traveller, much to his annoyance, is reminded that he is still confined within the wholesome restrictions of the passport-system, by the demand made upon him for that important document. We now had to pass through a triple ordeal: first there was the tight-laced, buttoned-to-the-chin Austrian Consul, to certify that we were not subjects of his Kaiserliche Königliche Majestät; then the chief of the Servian police; and thirdly, the Turkish official—all concurring in the expediency of an attack upon the purse of the luckless traveller; even the Osmanli pandour, who had rendered the service of showing us the passport-office, had learned to echo the cry, "Backschish, Effendi?"

We had to ascend to the town from the river Save, by what had been once a succession of stone steps, but Prince Eugene's well-directed cannon-balls having most ruthlessly expended their fury upon our ill-fated stair-case, it was only here and there a piece of stone still maintained its position, to remind us that the time had been when we might have ascended with ease. As it was, the earth that had replaced the step, rendered slippery by the rain, afforded a most insecure footing, and sundry compulsory descents provoked hearty male-dictions at the Oriental taste for ruined stairs. How-ever, our companions, whether quadrupeds or bipeds, having probably the advantage of frequent practice, exhibited a commendable example of sure-footedness; these consisted of mules, donkeys, men and women, laden with sheep-skin bags, filled with water from the Save—there being, it appeared, no other here fit to

use for culinary purposes. At length, fainting under the weight of our well-stuffed saddle-bags—for not one of those heroic democrats of modern Servia would carry them to relieve a lazy Frank, for love or money—we reached the gate of the town, where fatigue having, perhaps, disposed us to view things in their most unfavourable light, we must confess the tacticoes on duty did not impress us favourably as a specimen of the Sultan's soldiery; they were diminutive in size, their yellow swarthy features unprepossessing, and their equipments dirty and slovenly.

As soon as we had fairly entered the town, the question as to where we should take up our quarters for the night naturally suggested itself, my fellow-traveller, a young Frenchman, agreeing with me in the expediency of at once commencing our noviciate in abstinence, preparatory to travelling over a half-civilized country. We took up our abode in the first han we met with, which happened to be kept by an honest Zinzar, called Constantina.

Our hanji (innkeeper), the first human being since we entered the principality of Servia that exhibited the slightest interest in our affairs, loaded his own broad shoulders with the saddle-bags, and led the way up an almost perpendicular ladder-like staircase into a spacious apartment destitute of every article of furniture, except a wooden bench, six inches high, nailed to the floor and surrounding the room, upon which was placed a plaited straw mat as a substitute for a bed, and a canvas case stuffed with straw for a pillow; these, with a brass

basin, and an antique-looking jug of the same material, constituted all that is considered necessary to supply the wants of the traveller in the land of the Crescent.

My friend was young, and with that love of change so natural to his volatile countrymen, exhibited the most exuberant delight at finding himself emancipated from the restrictions of civilized society, exclaiming that the only way to enjoy life, was to roam through the world with the pilgrim's staff in hand, and like the Oriental, convert the carpet, on which he prays by day, into a bed; and his constant companion, the kabanitza, which serves to screen him alike from the wintry wind and the summer's sun, into a covering by night.

Having dined at Semlin, we only required some slight refreshment; therefore imitating our companions of the han, a clapping of hands, and the cry of "hanji," summoned to our aid a ji; or, as a Yankee would say, one of the helps of the hanji, who presented himself in the form of a youth of such classic outline of proportion and features, that he might have passed for the original of one of those fine statues of Roman heroes we see in Italy. As it was, the abundant dark glossy hair that fell over his broad shoulders, the simple tunic of coarse linen, secured round the waist, forming a kilt over his bare legs and feet, gave him so wild an appearance, that we might have supposed he had been just taken in the woods, and made his first *début* as a waiter at our han.

On demanding the name and nation of our ji, he informed us with some show of pride, that he was a

Roumani from the republic of Zagori, in the Pindus, and was called Liouli. These Zinzars, as they are termed by the Turks and the Slavonians, and by themselves Roumaniski, are every where found in these provinces as shepherds, petty shopkeepers, hanjis and pedlars.

We were able to carry on something like a conversation with our ji, Liouli, by means of Latin; the idiom he spoke was, however, intermingled with words of Slavonian, Greek and Turkish origin, and with others to which we were a stranger, and might be Dacian. The circumstance, in itself though trifling, is highly interesting, since it shows us a people scarcely numbering half a million in these provinces, still preserving for century after century, not only the language, but the tradition of their fathers; and so great is the national feeling among this race of the ancient Romans, that in our case, the simple fact of being able to converse with them drew to our han several Zinzar traders established here, offering the hospitality of their own private houses, as if we were descendants of the same race.

Our slight repast consisted of confectionary and coffee, everywhere excellent in Turkey. This was served on a small round table a foot in height; and as there were no seats, our only alternative was to recline in a recumbent position, resting on the elbow, or to sit *à la Turque*. The time had now arrived for my animated friend to make his first essay in Oriental manners, but—alas! vain was every attempt to main-

tain a quiet position; he fidgetted and fidgetted with many a laugh and a *sacré*, till wearied with his own restlessness, he wrapped himself up in his cloak and slept soundly till morning. Still, if the truth must be told, a straw mat and a carpet upon hard boards, forms a very inefficient substitute for a French mattress; and it is only after an apprenticeship of several weeks, that a denizen of the luxurious West does not rise in the morning horribly fatigued with his night's rest.

The first object that attracted our attention, on leaving the han, was a fine majestic building, three stories high, appearing like an alp in the midst of mole-hills, compared with the huts which line the streets of the old town of Belgrade. We were not more surprised on observing this imposing structure, than at the announcement in the German and Slavonian languages, blazoned in broad gilded letters over the principal door of entrance, that here was a coffee-house, restaurateur and billiard-room. Liouli, our cicerone, further informed us, that the same establishment contained a theatre and a hotel; and as we saw the tri-coloured flag waving at the other end, we knew that the French Consul had here taken up his residence. Altogether the structure, and the purposes for which it was erected, gave us great pleasure; it was an evidence that the civilized customs and habits of the West were gaining ground among the Servians; and it told much in favour of the government of Prince Alexander, and the just ideas of the people, when we learned that the building

was the private property of the exiled Prince of Servia, Michaeli, who, notwithstanding that he had made himself so odious to the people, through his tyranny and corrupt administrations, still enjoys its revenues.

The most striking public building in the town is the new Oriental church erected by Milosh, the first Prince of Servia, an edifice which reflects much credit on the taste of the Prince and the architect. This commendation, however, does not apply to the paintings, which are wretched examples of the national taste; but as these devotees of the Oriental church consider them miracles of art, it affords another illustration of the adage, that ignorance is often more blissful than knowledge. The subject of the paintings on the principal *façade*, of course, are of a religious character, representing the Trinity and various saints of the Greek calendar; and though I have frequently seen these personages most whimsically clad in Roman Catholic countries, even to the wearing of a hussar jacket and moustachios, as in Hungary; yet, blue pantaloons and Hessian boots with gilded tassels was, certainly, a novel costume for the Evangelists. In the centre is seen the Greek cross surmounted by a coronet and the crescent; the latter, we presume, was placed there by command of the Sultàn to remind the Servians of their annual tribute! The interior contains paintings of a similar description, attired in a costume equally *bizarre*, but there was not the slightest vestige of sculpture; the Oriental Church adhering literally to the command: "Thou shalt not make to thyself any graven image!"

On quitting the town for the faubourg, we passed through a ruined gateway which was once surmounted by a tower. Here we found a guard of Turkish soldiers stationed in a species of guard-house built of wood; among a dozen or more lounging about, there was scarcely one whose height exceeded five feet; they were habited in round blue jackets and trousers, which at some distant period had been white, and the usual red fez, and being bare-legged, and their bare feet stuck into a papoosh (slipper), did not add to their military *tenue*. Our animated Gaul, on seeing such apologies for soldiers, exclaimed at the height of his voice, "*Vive la France!*" which seemed to electrify the lazy Turks, for they sprang to their arms; the officer on duty, startled by the movement and the clang of fire-arms, now issued from an inner shed, and seeing we were Franks, invited us in the most courteous manner into his guard-room, and insisted upon our taking coffee and smoking the friendly tchibouque.

The exclamation of my vivacious companion was the means of introducing us to a remarkably intelligent young officer, Mehmet Effendi, who having studied military tactics in France, spoke French fluently; he endeavoured to make the most of his position, and in apologizing for the slovenly appearance of his men, informed us they were mere boys, a late importation of recruits from Kurdistan, so wild and savage in their manners as to be almost incapable of being tamed down to the discipline of European soldiers, adding, that at Stamboul we should see an army, whose martial appear-

ance and complete equipment would be certain to excite our admiration. On parting, he kindly offered to introduce us to his Highness the Pacha, which, with many expressions of gratitude, we accepted, and as we wished to evince our sense of the obligation he conferred, we invited him to sup with us at the German hotel the following evening.

We now entered what may be termed the modern town of Belgrade, presenting a visible improvement of the modern Servians on the huts of their fathers; it would also appear that they did not admire the proximity of their former tyrants, the Osmanli; for while the old town everywhere bore the stamp of neglect and ruin, the new town was rapidly assuming a European character. There was one building here surmounted by a colossal statue of Vulcan at work on his anvil, which especially attracted our attention. An edifice of such large dimensions we concluded must be the residence of the reigning Prince; but on inquiry, we learnt it had been built by a German locksmith, one of the first foreigners who settled in Belgrade after Servia had emancipated herself from the rule of the Osmanli. The German was a man of genius, who, in addition to his other employments as architect, engineer, and artizan, carried on a successful trade in pigs with Germany, which enabled him to realize a considerable fortune, to be afterwards dissipated in building and mining speculations. However, the worthy locksmith, if he have lost his palace and his money, may at least console himself with the reflection, that so long as the hard stone

endures in which the outline of his own burly person was chiselled as the god Vulcan, so long will his name, and the history of his misfortunes, be perpetuated in Belgrade.

A fine carriage-road leads from the new town to the residence of the reigning Prince of Servia, a neat villa such as an English gentleman worth five or six hundred a-year might erect for himself as an appropriate dwelling, admirably adapted as the residence of a petty sovereign of a country whose finances have been severely injured by a long revolutionary war, and the population of which does not exceed a million. What a striking contrast to the palace of King Otho at Athens, built at a cost of three hundred thousand pounds sterling! whose subjects likewise do not exceed a million, and whose pecuniary resources have been equally exhausted by a protracted struggle for independence. The Servians are, however, decidedly a prudent people, and in nothing have they shown it more, than in the election of their present sovereign, a worthy descendant of the Servian hero, Tzerni George, deservedly popular with his people, who does not make it the chief business of his administration to enrich himself at the expense of the nation, unlike his predecessors Milosh and his son Michaeli, whose rapacity and tyranny cost them the loss of a throne.

After visiting the unpretending residence of the Prince, who was then at Kragouejavatz superintending the arrangement of his farm, we loitered some time on the heights which command a fine view of Belgrade

and the surrounding country. During our ramble, we strolled into the ruins of a Turkish mosque, the majesty of the once beautiful dome, the airy elegance of the tapering minaret, now broken and crumbling, formed a not inappropriate type of the former splendour of the empire of Othman. The interior, although shattered with cannon-balls, still contained a few detached sentences from the Koran, and presented, with the breaches in the walls, and torn-up pavement, a mournful reminiscence of a contest between the Cross and the Crescent, which lasted upwards of thirty years. How fearful the odds!—a mere handful of swine-herds, shepherds, and haiducs contending for their independence against an empire!

There was a halo of classic associations about Greece in her struggle with Turkey, that excited for her children the sympathy of all Christendom; but these poor Servians, also Christians, unknown to the great world fought and bled unaided, and by their own firmness and bravery drove out the oppressor who had so long trampled in the dust all that is dear to man—his creed, nationality, and independence.

The day was excessively warm for the month of April, and so sudden was the change from winter to summer, that we might fancy we had been transported from some northern climate to the tropics. Nature seemed to have burst into existence; the numerous insects of the field that lay mute and motionless only a day or two before, were now blithely flying from shrub to shrub, humming their merry song; the fruit trees had opened

into full bloom, and every herb and plant was arraying itself in the beauteous livery of spring. The inhabitants of Belgrade seemed to have caught enthusiasm from their joyous climate, for we heard the sounds of a fine band of music at no great distance, and from the number of gaily-dressed people that were seen streaming in every direction, we concluded they were about to celebrate the anniversary of some great national victory over the Turks; we, however, learned from Liouli that it was merely the opening of the public gardens for the season, and that by paying them a visit, we should have an opportunity of meeting the whole of the *beau monde* of Belgrade.

The costume of the assembly was absolutely dazzling; gold caps, red caps, Russian caps, and jackets of every colour, embroidered with gold and silver, threw our unpretending Frank costume completely into the shade. Then the red sash of the men, filled with richly-mounted pistols, trophies of their wars with the Turks, together with the number of Servian officers, in full uniform, imparted something of a warlike character to the gaily-attired multitude.

The head-dress of the ladies we thought particularly becoming. This consisted of a scarlet fez of the finest texture, to the crown of which, fastened by a precious stone or brilliant, was appended a tassel of gold or silver; if this should be found of the latter material, then a gold band, about an inch in breadth, finished the edge of the cap; on the other hand, if the tassel is gold, the band is silver.

The scarlet fez, with its tassel, is evidently a favourite ornament for the head with our fair dames of Servia, and imparts a great deal of expression and liveliness to the features, since, according to the coquettish mood of the wearer, it is worn sometimes over one ear, and sometimes over the other, like the feather of a bird of paradise; then again, by a slight jerk of the head, it is made to fall over the face like a veil, or it undergoes another change, and covers the whole of the scarlet cap, which appears like one of gold or silver. Beneath this cap, the hair is neatly braided, and, like sensible women, they plait with it a band of ribbon, which announces to the stranger that the fair wearer is not to be flirted with —in other words, that she is a married woman. It is scarcely necessary to say, that the young ladies dispense with this ornament.

The lower classes, who cannot afford the costly fez and tassel, decorate their hair with ducats and some trifling articles of jewellery. The wealthy dames, also, form ducats and other gold coins into necklaces, the centre piece being about as large as a Spanish dollar, and the others gradually diminishing to the size of a silver penny. Their dresses are generally made after the European fashion; over this is worn a jacket, resembling in form that of a hussar, with large loose sleeves, richly embroidered, and braided with gold or silver. It was impossible not to admire the materials of which some of these dresses were composed, the richness and colour of the silks and satins, in some instances, surpassing anything of the kind we had seen

either in France or England, which proves that the Turkish manufactures of silk at Broussa, however expensive, have lost nothing of the brilliant excellence for which they were always celebrated.

Our fair dames of Servia, of whom a favourable specimen exhibited themselves on this fashionable promenade, however much their charms might be enhanced by the novelty, and, in some respects, the elegance of the national costume, could not sustain a comparison in *tournure* with our lovely and graceful women of the more civilized countries of the West. They were well made, handsome, rosy-faced, and good-looking, and might be said to resemble a bevy of buxom farmers' daughters of Old England, habited in gala costume, for a masked ball.

The dress of the men was quite as gay as that of the gentler sex. The Servian officers imitated the Russian military in the cut of their uniform—the shape of the cap—in short, in all their appointments, however trifling. A few staid, mercantile-looking citizens wore the long Servian pelisse, braided, and lined with fur; but the greater number of the promenaders were attired in the national costume—round jackets, richly braided with gold and silver; shalwars, also braided, and the red fez, to this was invariably added, a silk sash, filled with ornamented pistols.

At this time, the war of caps was at its height in Belgrade—in other words, Russian panslavism; this article of dress indicating the party to which the wearer belonged, whether Russian or Servian. To judge from the assembly, which was evidently a trial of strength,

the national party preponderated ten-fold, notwithstanding the presence of the Russian Consul, who, like some petty sovereign, moved from place to place, accompanied by his retinue of Russian caps.

Passports, like Paul Pry, ever meddling with the affairs of the traveller, completely dispelled the delusive hope of maintaining our incognito at Belgrade. My friend, who was an adept in the use of the pencil, expected, in this far distant land, unknown, and unseen, to load his portfolio with a sufficient number of costumes for all the masked balls in Paris, during the next half century; while I as confidently contemplated filling my note-book without observation, or interruption. All our air-built visions were dispelled, by a visit from our respective Consuls; I had, however, the satisfaction of forming an intimate acquaintance with a very worthy man, our Consul-General, Mr. Fonblanque.

We were now, in a manner, obliged to change the miseries of an Oriental han, for the comforts of an hotel of modern Servia, with which we had every reason to be satisfied; the beds were excellent, the charges moderate; there was a capital *salle-à-manger*, and every convenience usually found in a third-rate hotel of France or England; and having already invited the Turkish officer, Mehmet Effendi, to sup with us, to our great satisfaction, the master of the hotel provided an excellent repast.

The next day, our friend, Mehmet, introduced us to Selim Bey, the Pacha of Belgrade, whom I recognized as an old travelling companion, the moment I entered

the room; and, with the warm feelings of an Englishman, was about renewing our acquaintance, but the cold, withering look he cast upon me, and which an Oriental knows so well how to assume, was absolutely petrifying. In vain I threw out a few hints respecting the late Sultan Mahmoud, and my former travels in Turkey; he still maintained the same imperturbable expression, as if we had never met before.

After partaking of coffee and the tchibouque, the usual entertainment of the traveller in Orient, we rose to take leave, which gave rise to a most amusing and characteristic scene of Turkish manners.

His Highness the Pacha, evidently apprized of our intended visit, had invited the dignitaries of his church, together with the principal civil and military officers of his household, who now, with all the gravity peculiar to this people, were seated in profound silence on an elevated divan around the apartment smoking their highly-ornamented tchibouques — the bowls of which, resting on the carpet in every direction, rendered it a matter of no small difficulty for an unpractised stranger to thread his way across the room without crushing one at every step.

As an old traveller, having learned caution on former similar occasions, I succeeded in making my retreat without doing any injury; but my friend, this being his *début* into Oriental society, was somewhat over-anxious to exhibit that politeness for which his nation is justly celebrated—he, therefore, on rising to depart, bowed to the Pacha and the assembly with great ease and

elegance, at the same time, stepping backwards, smash went one of the pipe-bowls. With a suppressed *sacré* at his own awkwardness, and turning quickly round to the owner, he exclaimed: "Oh! Monsieur, je vous demande mille pardons!" when, alas! the crush of another bowl was echoed by another *sacré*, and stepping backward with still greater alacrity to reiterate the apology—must I confess that another, and another bowl fell a sacrifice. Mortified and confused beyond measure at his maladroit evolutions, our bewildered friend completely lost his self-possession, and reckless of all consequences, made a hasty retreat, crushing bowl after bowl in his passage to the door.

However greatly my risibility might have been excited by the unsuccessful attempt of my friend to impress the grave Osmanli with an idea of Parisian elegance of manners, the most amusing part of the scene was the unbounded and even uproarious hilarity of those usually serious and reserved believers in the True Prophet. Countenances, whose chilling solemnity appeared incapable of being thawed, even into a smile, were now convulsed with laughter. Turkish gravity seemed to have been completely demolished with the pipe-bowls, and while the shaking sides of the fat Moullah, and the tear-streaming eyes of his Highness the Pacha, proclaimed how thoroughly they enjoyed the drollery of the scene at one end of the apartment, the well-trained and statue-like ji's at the other, caught the contagion, and joined in the merry chorus as loudly as their superiors—and truly, the unwonted tempest of

merriment which shook the walls of the reception-room, appeared as if it would never have subsided.

Before we had reached the outer court of the palace, Mehmet Effendi, accompanied by a Turkish officer, joined us with an invitation from the Pacha Selim, to sup with him the same evening in his private apartment. It is scarcely necessary to say that our excellent Pacha, who had been already accustomed to European society, and visited France and England, exhibited towards us all the courtesy of a well-bred man of the world; and, grasping my hand with the cordiality of an old friend, apologized for the cold haughtiness of his manners in public, and which the stupid, slavish etiquette of Osmanli usages, obliges a true believer, especially a dignitary of the Turkish empire, to assume in his intercourse with a Frank.

To the friendly offices of Selim Bey, I was also indebted for a letter of introduction which gave me access to all the Pachas and Governors, civil and military, during my extensive wanderings in these provinces of European Turkey. This, with an imperial firman, enabled me, from the very commencement of my tour, to accomplish the object I had in view, which, even if aided by the sovereign talisman of wealth and high rank, I could not otherwise have done.

Having now seen all that was worth notice in Belgrade, we began to make the necessary preparations for an Oriental tour, my young friend, Monsieur Delacroix, who seemed to enjoy with great gusto, the exciting novelties of Oriental life, also determined to

accompany me, at least, during my tour in Servia; but since he was no linguist, he engaged, as his servant, a German of Belgrade, who spoke Slavonian and a little French.

There are two ways of travelling in Servia, either by post-à-cheval, or with a kiraidji. The first is the most expeditious, but my object being to see the country, and stop where I pleased, I chose the latter; besides, I had the advantage of having at my disposal a man who thoroughly knew the country, and could also perform the offices of attendant.

For this purpose, a Servian kiraidji was recommended to us named Tjordji (Georgy), who was the owner of several horses, and had been accustomed to traverse every part of European Turkey, transporting merchandize. We easily came to an arrangement, as he, no doubt, found travellers a more profitable burden for his horses than bales of goods: we engaged to pay him twenty Turkish piastres a-day for each horse, including every expense.

CHAPTER II.

First day's journey in Servia—Miseries of the han—Sketches of the inhabitants—Their villages and hamlets—Aspect of the country—Arrival at Hassan-Pacha-Palanka—How to procure a supper—A characteristic scene—Anecdotes of the Servian War of Independence—Prince Milosh and Tzerni George—Intrigues of Russia in Servia—Tragical death of Tzerni George—Traits characteristic of the Servians—Servian war-song.

At break of day we were aroused from our slumbers by a loud cry, in the Servian language, "Haidé! haidé! Gospodin!"—the equivalent to *en route*. On descending into the court-yard of the inn, we found our horses saddled, bridled and loaded, with all the indispensable appendages to a tour in European Turkey. There were bags to hold our provender, saucepans for cooking, leather bottles for wine and raki, a long pouch for carrying the tchibouque, and a heap of sheepskins thrown over the wooden saddle, to which was attached our bourkas, cloaks, tartans and carpets for sleeping on.

All things being thus in readiness for starting, we only awaited the arrival of our kiraidji, but on looking around, the only person we saw was a dirty-looking fellow, clad in garments quite covered with grease, and nearly so with patches. On inquiry as to what had become of Georgy, how great was our surprize to recognize him in the miserable tatterdemalion before us. Seeing our astonishment, he exclaimed:

"Ah, Gospodin! rags excite no envy in Turkey. My gaudy braided jacket and crimson shalwar might do well for Belgrade; but were I to travel with them among the haughty Arnouts of Bosnia and Albania, I should be certain to be half murdered, or at least every article of my dress cut to shreds with their poniards; for, remember, Gospodin, if Georgy is a free man in Servia, he is a rayah when he crosses the Turkish frontier. Here he may wear the costume of the lordly Arnout, the crimson shalwar and belt full of pistols, but there he must appear in the humble garments of the despised rayah."

Nothing worthy of observation occurred during our first day's journey from Belgrade to Nissa. So long as we kept the Danube in view, the country was tolerably well cultivated, everywhere offering the most beautiful and extensive prospects. This continued till we commenced the ascent of the dreary heights of Mount Volodar, where we found ourselves not only exposed to a cold piercing wind, but a drenching rain—a sad predicament for travellers fresh from the

luxuries of the West, and whose hopes of comfort, as to a night's quarter, is confined to the bare walls of an Oriental han.

On arriving at the village of Colar, we found its only han occupied by a group of travellers busily employed in cooking their supper around a blazing wood fire in the centre of the room, a most agreeable sight to travellers wet, cold and hungry. Having spread our mats in a nook near the fire, and lessened the contents of our provender bags, we prepared to sleep by wrapping ourselves up in our cloaks; but, alas! fate had determined that our first day's journey should be one of annoyance, for the smoke having no other vent than the door, or a hole in the roof, the wind drove it back as fast as it tried to escape, rendering the atmosphere more dense than agreeable. From this torment we were at length relieved by a deluge of rain, which came pouring down the open chimney, and extinguished our fire.

At any other time the position in which we were placed would have called forth a display of the lively wit of my travelling companion, but he had completely lost his spirits, not so much from the total absence of everything in the shape of comforts, as from fatigue, for unaccustomed to the Turkish saddle, and the jolting of the horse, he felt every bone in his body aching. His German servant, a journeyman shoe-maker, who probably never had mounted a horse in his life before, was even in a worse condition,

kept moaning in a corner, invoking maledictions on Servia and all Servian saddles.

Sleep, the panacea for so many pains and sorrows of body and mind, had so far restored my travelling companion, that the first cry of the kiraidji found him again prepared to meet the rough welcome of an Oriental saddle. The case was very different with the son of Crispin, who, deficient in moral courage, writhed and winced as he mounted his horse, like a culprit about being led to execution. Georgy, who was somewhat malicious in his fun, seeing the misery of the poor German, started at full gallop, brandishing his knout, and shouting with all his might: "Haidé! haidé!"

Still the saddle of a kiraidji, notwithstanding its ill-repute among Frank travellers, is not the instrument of torture they represent it, but like everything else, a man must serve an apprenticeship till he has discovered its advantages; for instance, its ample size covering the horse from head to tail, affords every facility for the equestrian to change his position; now he can ride *à la Turque*, then *à l'European*, and lastly, he can convert it into a lady's side-saddle, or take a nap if he is so disposed.

As we advanced into the interior, the country became more wild and desolate, immense forests of oak everywhere met the eye, amongst these were several patches of cleared ground, just brought into cultivation, but instead of cutting down the trees to the root, four or five feet of each were left standing partially burnt,

looking like a regiment of black soldiers quartered in a corn-field.

Husbandry the most slovenly, and neglect of everything that adds to the comfort of civilized life, is still the distinguishing feature in the character of a Servian peasant. The villages and hamlets, few and far between, were merely an assemblage of huts constructed of poles stuck in the ground, secured to each other with wicker-work, and plastered inside and out with clay, and then covered with reeds, or some description of sedge, to keep out the rain, with the everlasting hole in the roof to serve as a chimney. Attached to these villages and hamlets were vast sheds for the accommodation of their flocks and herds during the severity of winter, the whole encircled with a strong palisade, as a defence against the attack of the prowling wolf, and other beasts of prey.

In some situations, for instance, on the undulating sides of a hill, we found some of these huts, simply excavated out of the earth, the soil above supported by poles, and beams of wood, as a roof, while the hole in the centre, doing the duty of a chimney, served at the same time as a dangerous pitfall at our horses' feet, and as a medium for observing the movements of the family beneath. Still, however primitive might be these huts, I have frequently seen the lord and master issue forth with head erect, splendidly attired, and armed to the teeth, like some feudal lord of the middle ages, while the gentle Baba herself would be decorated with as many gold ornaments and gold coins as might

suffice to furnish her daughter with a handsome marriage dowry.

In point of fact, the Servian is both by principle and inclination a man of war; and now that he is free, he loves to decorate himself in all the warlike finery of the haughty Arnout, that so long trod him under foot. If you ask him, knowing that he has the means, why he does not build himself a more commodious habitation, he will answer by saying, that the war between the Turk and his own race has only commenced, and will never end till his brethren of Bosnia, Herzegowina, and Upper Moesia, are free, and concludes by telling you, that until then, it would be the height of folly to waste his money on an object so liable to destruction, in his next and not far distant struggle with his old enemy, the Turk.

As we approached Hassan-Pacha-Palanka, the forests became more park-like in appearance, and the oak-trees far more majestic than any we had yet seen in Servia. We had also occasional vistas of the mighty Danube, winding its way to the Euxine through one of the most beautiful countries of forest, hill, dale, valley and ravine, that can be conceived. And as we skirted the steep side of the Kaila Rika, now opening into a tiny plain, then contracting into a deep defile, and lastly, expanding into a beautiful valley, we had ample leisure for studying its vast resources as an agricultural district. At present droves of half wild pigs and goats, tended by shepherds, nearly as wild looking as their charge, wander over lands equally savage in appearance; and how melancholy

is it, when we reflect on its vicinity to the overgrown population of Western and Central Europe, who, sooner than adopt a country, so long the battle-field of hostile races and hostile creeds, are obliged to seek a home in the far-distant lands of America.

Hassan-Pacha-Palanka, although it bears the name of a town, does not contain more than between four and five hundred inhabitants. It is, however, the seat of a Starachin (judge), and the Kapitan of a Nahia (circle), and appears, from the number of shops filled with merchandize, its armourers, tailors and sandal-makers, coffee-houses and confectioners, to be in a progressive state.

We had unfortunately set out on our tour during one of the interminable fasts of the Oriental Church, and as the stock of provisions, with which we had furnished ourselves at Belgrade, was now exhausted, we could get nothing in the town better than stale carp and tench from the Danube and the Morava—poor fare for hungry travellers. In vain we despatched Georgy in quest of a fowl, or even eggs—it was of no avail; the fanatic inhabitants would neither sell, nor even cook, an article of food forbidden by their Church.

Determined to provide ourselves with a more substantial meal than the mess of soup, composed of fish, garlic and beans, the hanji was disposed to set before us, we sallied forth towards the environs of the town on a foraging expedition. We had not proceeded far when our eyes were gladdened by the sight of a goodly array of barn-door fowls, preparing to take up their quarters

for the night in the wide-spreading branches of a mighty oak; but, alas! no offer of ours could prevail upon the good housewife to sell us one of her cackling charge, and so become accessory to our breaking the commandments of her Church.

Thus balked in our endeavours to procure a supper, like two hungry men we determined to carry off by force the first fat fowl we could lay hands on, even at the risk of paying an exorbitant price, but we soon found that we did not give our feathered friends credit for half the agility they possessed, as they one after the other, eluding our endeavours to catch them, took refuge among the branches of their vast roosting-place; so that our promised supper began to assume the doubtful aspect, if not of a castle, at least of a birú in the air; and as we stood panting and wearied with our fruitless chase at the bottom of the tree, we could not help feeling that, in our case, a bird in the hand was worth a score in the bush.

Coûte qui coûte, determined not to be conquered by a chicken, I resolved as a *dernier ressort* to have recourse to the loaded pistols I carried in my belt, and drawing one forth, took deliberate aim at an insulting chanticleer, who in imagined safety, at the top of the tree, was clapping his wings, and crowing defiance at our futile efforts to entrap him; when, lo! a bullet through the head laid him struggling at our feet, and throwing a dollar to the astounded and horror-stricken owner, we hoped to escape in peace to our han. Vain delusion! the uproar which followed could not have

been exceeded if the Arnouts had stormed Hassan-Pacha-Palanka; and we were followed to our inn by an angry, vociferating crowd of men, women and children, who heaped upon our devoted heads every abusive epithet which their voluminous, and not over-choice vocabulary furnished them; we were in the same breath called dogs of heretics! Latin hounds! and unbelieving flesh-eating Franks! all uniting in clamorously demanding justice on the transgressors.

Fortunately, in the midst of the uproar, the kapitan and the judge made their appearance, with several civil officers of distinction in the town. As soon as anything like silence could be obtained, I stated my case at full length, to which the judge listened with the most profound attention, evidently treating it as a matter of the highest importance, and finally, much to our satisfaction, pronounced a verdict in our favour. "Were we not Franks?" said he; "and was it not a manifest violation of the laws of hospitality to refuse to furnish strangers with such articles of food as their Church, like an indulgent mother, permitted them to enjoy? How," as this light of the law most logically argued, "could the same laws be expected to hold good for all creeds? Here we have two distinguished Frank travellers come to visit you from the Far West, who, after a long and fatiguing day's journey, have been unable to procure, in the whole town of Hassan-Pacha-Palanka, such an ordinary article of food as a fowl—for shame, Servians! for shame! blinded by your fanaticism, you have violated the laws of hospitality, and by

forcing these strangers to an act of violence, you have brought down disgrace on the name of a Servian."

The piece of money we had thrown to the good housewife was now demanded, and with some reluctance produced; upon viewing it, our Aristides gravely declared it to be ten times the worth of the fowl, and after estimating its true value, the residue to the amount of several piastres was presented to us, which we however added to the prime cost, as an indemnity to the rest of the feathered troop for the loss of their gallant leader.

The arrival of strangers, who had already rendered themselves so conspicuous, drew to our han visitors from every part of the town, who overwhelmed us with questions concerning our respective countries. The kapitan, Nestor Arvamonowich, was a splendid fellow, a perfect giant, and rather good-looking. Our judge, Milanowrinowich, and a young man, his secretary, Demetrius Johanowich, were very well informed, particularly the latter, who had been to Vienna and Munich, and spoke the German language with some fluency; they afforded me considerable information respecting the political state of the country and its future prospects, together with many anecdotes of the bravery of Tzerni George, and also of his companion in arms, Thomas Wouschitz Pereshitz, the present hero of Servia, who it appears is a second Earl of Warwick, having twice dethroned Prince Milosh, and then his son, for the sake of placing at the head of the principality Alexander, the present sovereign, son of Tzerni George.

Our *tête-à-tête* terminated with a pressing invitation

from the kapitan, Nestor Arvamonowich, to take up our residence at his konak. Our hospitable entertainer, who in intellectual culture was a century in advance of the fanatical ignorance of the people, provided us a splendid supper, in which our gallant cock made a conspicuous figure, and caused many a witty remark. Our party was also joined by the starachin, and all the notables of the place; we remained together till a late hour discussing the politics of the great powers of the West, particularly that of the mighty Russia, and the relative position of Turkey, with her millions of Christian rayahs.

It was highly amusing to observe the self-love of these haughty Servians, and the importance they attached to their little state of a million of inhabitants, as a member of the great European family, and how often have I been referred to the history of Servia under their great Tzar, Douschan, at a time when the Schouab (Austrian), and the Rouss (Russian), were barbarians. "Servia was then," exclaimed the gigantic kapitan, "one of the greatest empires in the world, and its sovereign bore the title of *Imperator Rasciæ Bulgariæ, Bosniæ, at que Albaniæ.*" Then their peculiar idiom of the Slavon was ever the theme of much national pride, as the noblest, the richest, and most comprehensive of all.

Having acquired my first knowledge of the Slavonian dialect in Russia, my accent betrayed to my auditors where I had made acquaintance with their language, and I was soon told that the idiom of the Rouss was a bastard of the noble Servian tongue; and the

people, when compared with themselves, nothing better than a mongrel race of Rouss and Tartars. Does not this show that the desire for a union of all the Slavonian races, under the much-vaunted Panslavism, is not quite so universal as its friends would have us believe. In fact, the difference between the Russian idiom and the Servian is quite as marked and decided as the Italian and the Spanish, and as little prospect of an amalgamation of the respective people.

During our conversation I heard accounts almost fabulous of the bravery of their hero Tzerni George and his Haiduc chiefs, and stories related as marvellous as those told of the Scottish hero Wallace, or the Swiss William Tell. That this chief is popular, and his memory highly reverenced by the people, may be inferred from the circumstance that his portrait adorns nearly every house and han in the country; at the same time, there is scarcely a syllable breathed in favour of Milosh.

When relating to our party the romantic anecdote we heard of the Servian hero at Belgrade, a rough-looking shepherd, enveloped in a fur wrapper, growled out that it was all a fable, giving another version, not so favourable to the hero. Such an assertion created a general *émeute* against him, and had it not been for the strong arm of the gigantic kapitan, he would have been condemned to a compulsory immersion in the Jesenitza, that runs past the door. The tale he told of the stern warrior was, that he had condemned his father to be shot, because proof existed that he secretly conveyed

intelligence to the Turks of the plans of his son, and the rebel leaders of the insurgents.

I also heard several interesting details of the tragic death of the unfortunate chief whose house I visited at Azania, between this town and Semendria on the Danube, where he was assassinated by the agents of Milosh.

During the invasion of Russia, by the Emperor Napoleon, that power, dreading the misfortunes which threatened her, sought to win over to her alliance the Ottoman Porte, at this time intriguing with France. To this end she determined to put down the revolt in Servia, now in arms against the authority of the Sultan, hoping at the same time to add to the resources of the Turkish empire, and attach it by gratitude to her own interest. She, therefore, dispatched into Servia a clever agent, M. Nedoba, whose intrigues in favour of the Ottoman Government completely lulled to sleep the natural prudence and foresight of the Servians, who were deluded into the belief, that by allowing the fortresses and strong places to be occupied by Turkish garrisons, their independence would be secured, with the exception of paying an annual tribute to the Porte.

Tzerni George, who was at this time all-powerful, rejected the proposal with scorn; he had hitherto beaten the Mussulman in every encounter, even without the assistance of artillery; but now how much better able was he to meet the invasion, with one hundred and fifty pieces at his command. He had also a splendid army of well-tried patriots, every fortress and strong-

hold in the country in his possession; add to this, he was deservedly popular, and regarded with that superstitious veneration which ensures success, since they firmly believed him to be invincible,—an instrument in the hand of Heaven to deliver the true Church out of the power of the infidels.

The population of Servia at this time happened to be double its usual number, owing to the emigration of the Servian-Slavons from Hungary and Austria, while the army of Tzerni George was increased by military deserters from the ranks of the same countries. Such being the position of Servia, we cannot doubt that the intended invasion of the Turks would have been repulsed. At the critical moment, when the devastating hordes of Mahometan Arnouts and Bosnians, supported by an army of thirty thousand men, were ready to cross the frontier, the Russian *envoyé* protested, in the name of the Tzar, against the military preparations of Tzerni George. In vain the hero pleaded his cause; in vain he represented to the Senate and the Russian envoy the certainty of success, and the crime of allowing an army of fanatic soldiers and freebooters to take military possession of the country. It was of no avail; the Senate, which yielded implicit assent to the statements of the envoy, and reposed the fullest confidence in the friendship and support of the greatest monarch in the world, issued orders to the various Hospodars to disband their followers.

Tzerni George and a few devoted adherents, notwithstanding they were outlawed by the Senate, and menaced

by the envoy, Nedoba, with the advance of a Russian army to support the Turkish cause, still held out; but indecision and apprehension of the consequences of a rupture with the mighty Tzar, had entered the ranks of the patriot army for the first time; and as in all similar cases, the timid and the cautious gradually forsook the standard of the liberator, till at length he found his numbers so reduced as to be incapable of action. At length beaten at every point, and pursued with the vengeance of the Senate and the all-powerful Russian envoy, our hero sought safety in flight and entered Austria.

Now commenced a series of the most atrocious and revolting cruelties recorded in the history of this or any other country. The insatiate vengeance of the fanatic soldiers of the Crescent was let loose upon the devoted inhabitants; whole towns and villages were burned to the ground, and the wretched people slaughtered without mercy. Children were baptized in boiling water as a mockery of the sacred rite by the infidels, and every refinement of cruelty practised that the imagination of a Nero could have conceived. We are sorry to record that these atrocities were but a retaliation of similar barbarities which had been perpetrated by these schismatics during the horrible insurrection of 1804, when every Osmanli, throughout the principality, was either massacred, or forcibly baptized.

This disastrous invasion, accomplished through the instrumentality of the tortuous policy of the Court of St. Petersburg, cost the Servians the loss of their gallant leader, and with him the deprivation of their freedom.

The rapacious Spahis again found themselves in possession of their lost fiefs; and now armed with the authority of law, their tyranny knew no bounds. The unfortunate rayah was driven to his labours by the terror of the knout; wretched patriots were impaled without distinction, without mercy. A gentleman of high rank in Belgrade assured me (and it was confirmed by my friends *here*), that he counted not less than three hundred Servian chiefs on the stake at the same time on the Atmeidan of Belgrade.

Every promise made by the Russian envoy was falsified by the results that followed; he might have relied on the humanity of the Osmanli leader, Kurschid Pacha—on the good faith of the Ottoman Porte, or he might have exceeded his commands. Be this as it may, the whole odium of the invasion, and its deplorable consequences, fell on the Russian Government, and its instrument, Nedoba, who secretly conveyed himself away from a country where his name will ever remain coupled with the most disastrous epochs in the history of Servia. Every promise made by the Russian envoy was falsified by the results that followed. Too late the Servians saw their error, and the pit which had been dug for them by the treachery of pretended friends; and although eight and thirty years have passed over, this unhappy transaction lives in the memory of the people. These interesting particulars were related to us by the starachin of the district, with that quiet, but expressive oratory, so characteristic of a Servian, he was listened to with calm and deep attention by all present; and

the manifestations of indignant feeling it called forth is another proof that Russia has lost the confidence of the Servian people.

The Turks, intoxicated with success, and supported by the countenance of their new allies, Russia and Austria, continued their mad career, ruling this haughty people with a tyranny the most oppressive; but though obliged to submit to force, the Servian was not conquered; the impenetrable forests and mountain plateau still remained; and there the brave, the patriotic and the enterprizing, assembled to conspire against their oppressors, and prepare for another campaign, as sanguinary and effectual in its results, as any undertaken by their former chief, Tzerni George. The cry of vengeance found an echo in the Balkan, the Upper Moesia, and the mountains of Bosnia, Herzegowina and Tchernegorai, which sent forth its most valiant Haiducs and Ouskoks as leaders in the new crusade of the Christians against the Turks.

The insurrection, which at first was confined to skirmishing in the mountain passes, with now and then a razia upon the property of some wealthy Turk, gradually spread to all classes of the Servian population; and, as frequently happens in similar revolutions, there was found a chief worthy to be the rival of Tzerni George. This was Milosh, who, though born a swineherd, possessed sufficient bravery and military genius to become the hero of his nation, and the tact and ability to elevate himself to the rank of a sovereign prince; and

if he had possessed one particle of humanity in his brutal nature, exhibited one redeeming quality in his tyrannical disposition, might have lived and died the monarch of a grateful people.

Even his love of absolute power, which led him to trample upon all the social and civil rights of a people so tenacious of their independence, might have been endured in a man whose bravery had achieved so much for the freedom of his country, were it not sullied by an act which has entailed eternal disgrace upon his memory: he became the midnight assassin of his relative, friend, and companion-in-arms—Tzerni George.

We have already said, that Tzerni George, having fled from his country when it fell into the power of the Turks, took refuge in Austria—whose prudent Government unwilling to give offence to the Ottoman Porte, and, no doubt, mindful of her own interests, unwilling that such a firebrand of revolt should take up his residence among his Slavonian brethren, her subjects, ordered him to leave her territories, whence he passed into Besserabia, entered the Russian service, became a sort of state prisoner, or rather was placed under the secret surveillance of the Russian police. It was not probable that a man like Tzerni George, in the prime of life, would remain an indifferent spectator of the acts of despotic folly daily perpetrated by his rival Milosh, now in the zenith of power; and as he maintained a clandestine correspondence with his adherents in Servia,

he was enabled to seize the right moment for action, and place himself at the head of the movement which had for its object the dethronement of the tyrant.

However much Tzerni George might have mourned over the fate of his country, which had emancipated itself from the rule of the Osmanli, only to pass under that of one of its own tyrants, his calumniators never accuse him of being personally ambitious. An enmity, the most deadly and unrelenting, against the whole Mussulman race, was the motive that ever guided his actions, whether in the senate or the camp, and now that he had acquired practical knowledge in his intercourse with the world, and perfected himself in the military tactics of Europe, his views became more enlarged; and knowing the indolence, the weakness of the Turkish Government, he conceived the project of emancipating the whole of the Christian population of European Turkey from the rule of the Osmanli. To this end, he was initiated into all the mysteries of the Greek Heteria, which then agitated every part of Turkey in which a Greek community was to be found. This extraordinary fraternity, with its private signals and mysterious hieroglyphics, whose ramifications and secret system has been so thickly veiled, that no government has hitherto penetrated its concealment even to the present day, was now about to be introduced among the Slavonian population of European Turkey, and Tzerni George was the first Servian who had the honour of being elected a member.

The astute Greek, by investing the hero of Servia

with such vast power as military chief of all the Slavon-Greeks, for once showed his wisdom, and proved the inveteracy of his hatred to the Turk, and the steadiness with which he pursued the object he had in view, well knowing he could only hope for success by uniting the robust, hard-fighting Slavonian with his own mercurial race. Still there was an eye upon Tzerni George which never slept; he might hold mysterious conversation with his brethren under the guise of vagrant pedlars and swineherds, he might receive a communination couched in the most common-place language, but conveying information of the highest importance to the cause he espoused, there was still a greater power—the power the priest exercises over the penitent in the confessional, and which the far-seeing Government at St. Petersburg knows how to wield with such advantage. In the civilized West, where the conscience of the revolutionist is not so sensitive as to oblige him to confess the entire amount of his peccadillos, especially if they are political, the spiritual father cannot always lend his aid to the Government; but here, there is ever to be found a sufficient number of devotees ready to unburden their minds, and so divulge sufficient information of what is going forward, as to be intelligible to the ear of the wary priest. This was the case with the hero of Servia; however skilfully he had planned his escape, however secretly, as he thought, he had arrived in Servia, his movements were watched and reported to Prince Milosh, who, by causing the assassination of his rival, became, unknowingly, the

instrument of destroying the most dangerous chief of an insurrection which must have annihilated for ever the empire of the Osmanli in Europe.

The head of the unfortunate chief was cut off by the axe of a common woodsman, it was then embalmed and sent to the Pacha of Belgrade, and by him to the Sultan; and the news of his death was considered of such importance in Constantinople, as to be celebrated by a general illumination and public rejoicing of all the Osmanli.

With much reluctance we bade adieu to our hospitable entertainer, the kapitan, Nestor Arvamonowich, and the comforts we enjoyed at his konak, which though somewhat different from those of the inhabitants of Western Europe, might here be termed of a high order. We had the option given us either of passing the night in the winter chamber, under the verandah, or in a pretty kiosk in the garden, constructed in the form of an elevated umbrella, supported on wooden pillars, open to the winds of heaven, for these hardy mountaineers, disdaining the four walls of a house, sleep in the open air from St. George's Day to the middle of October. We had each a well-stuffed divan for a bed, downy pillows, and a quilted cotton counterpane for a covering. National pride forbidding that either a Frenchman or an Englishman should be considered less robust than a Servian, we selected the kiosk for our night's quarters; and as the climate was dry, and the weather beautiful, we found no reason to regret our choice.

Whether our host was blessed with a gentle Baba, and a numerous family, we had no opportunity of ascertaining, for during our visit we were not gladdened by the sight of one of those fair beings whose presence forms so great a charm in European society. Perhaps he was unwilling to introduce the handsome fascinating Gaul to his beloved helpmate; for, however singular it may appear, when we remember how distant these provinces are from the west of Europe, it is universally believed by the inhabitants, that a Frenchman is the reverse of moral in his disposition and conduct: and it is as generally received and implicitly credited that the French nation are Pagans. This opinion originated in the revolutionary frenzy of 1793, and the lapse of half a century has not sufficed to remove the impression. We had a striking example of this as we sat down to our supper. The papa, who was seated by me, crossed himself, in which he was imitated by all present, with the exception of my friend and myself, who, following the habits of our countries, bowed with reverence, and thanked the Almighty Giver of all good. On seeing this, he turned sharply round, and remarked with all the *naïveté* of his countrymen, that he always thought the Ingleski believed in Christ. This led to a discussion, in which I had some difficulty to make the worthy priest understand that a man may firmly believe in the divine truths of Christianity without making an exhibition of his belief by refraining from certain articles of food, and practising certain signs

and ceremonies. I also explained to him, that although France at the epoch referred to had been guilty of many acts of impiety—that the monstrous doctrine then proclaimed never found an echo in the hearts of the people, and when the Reign of Terror was over, they publicly returned to the religion of their fathers.

Our evening's entertainment concluded by a popular song in praise of the Servian hero, Tzerni George, sung in chorus by the whole of the guests. I was indebted for a copy of it to the politeness of the kapitan, which we have endeavoured to render into English, as a proof of the state of feeling, and of the attachment the Servians entertain towards the memory of their hero.

When the tyrant Turk was lord
O'er Servia's sons enslaved,
Who first unsheathed fair freedom's sword,
And Moslem vengeance braved?
Tzerni George! Tzerni George!

Whose arm, victorious, led us on
To humble Othman's pride,
And when his task was done
Nobly for his country died?
Our hero, Tzerni George!

Should the oppressor dare again
Lay his yoke upon the free,
On the crimson battle-plain
Our rallying cry shall be,
The patriot, Tzerni George!

Where'er the Servian people dwell,
Throughout their wide domain,
Each grateful tongue shall gladly tell
Of Turkish warriors slain,
By gallant Tzerni George.

The verdant fields shall bloom no more,
The last bright sun be set,
The deep blue sea forsake the shore,
E'er Servian hearts forget
Their glorious Tzerni George.

CHAPTER III.

Description of Servia—Wild aspect of its forests—Swine herds—Abundance of game—German traveller—Arrival at Jagodin—Singular costume of the peasantry—Improved aspect of the country—Industry of the inhabitants—Mount Jouor—Gipsy villages—Miseries of a traveller—Mountain han—A caravan bivouac—Arrival at Alexinitz—Increasing prosperity of the town—Customs and manners of the inhabitants—The quarantine and its abuses—English friends and hospitality.

EARLY in the morning, or as the poets say, when the dew-spangled grass glittered brightly beneath the first beams of the blushing morn, we mounted our horses, and to our great surprize, our host made his appearance, habited in his crimson shalwars, gaily embroidered jacket and belt full of pistols, accompanied by a pandour, bearing a small tray with glasses and raki, that we might enjoy together a parting glass. How like the stirrup-cup of our country.

About an hour's ride from Hassan-Pacha-Palanka we ascended a steep acclivity, when the country became more wild than any I had yet seen—the forests more

dense. Gigantic oaks flung their wide-spreading branches above our heads in every direction—forming a canopy of foliage almost impervious to the light of day. There was a stillness and a solitude in the scene which affected the imagination; the sound of our horses' feet, the slightest noise, was echoed and re-echoed; we seemed to have left behind all trace of man and the feverish anxieties which occupy his attention. As we advanced, numerous flocks of starlings and wood-pigeons chattered and cooed in the branches of the trees, squirrels chased each other in playful security, and had it not been for an occasional glimpse of some stealthy lynx, or wild cat, in search of their prey, we might have fancied ourselves in some Arcadian land, where no living thing could receive injury or wrong.

These scenes were occasionally varied by meeting with immense droves of pigs, grunting in chorus and turning up the earth in search of food. They were guarded by most primitive, but warlike-looking swineherds, clad in sheep-skin mantles, descending to their feet, and enormous turban like-caps of the same material, a band of red cloth confined the waist, in which they carried a brace of pistols and a hangiar, while over their shoulder was slung the long Arnout gun, inlaid with gold or silver, the trophy of some desperate foray with that heroic people.

These warlike swineherds are frequently members of some patriarchal tribe, the joint owners of the vast herds, and the land over which they wander. They

are a fine race of men, robust, broad-shouldered and strongly-built; we found them ever ready to share with us their raki, which they carried in a gourd suspended from their girdle, and the contents of their well-stocked provender bag. The demand for English powder was ever made upon our generosity, both here and elsewhere in these provinces—to be used as priming for their weapons, thereby inferring that its superior excellence, even in these remote provinces, has been tested. As it is prized by these people, the gift was certain to be acknowledged with the gratitude of the warrior, or the sportsman, and never failed to make a friend of the receiver.

I could not help reflecting on the want of foresight and generalship shown by the Turks, during the war of Servian independence, since if, instead of burning the towns and villages, and putting the inhabitants to the sword, they had set fire to the forests, and slaughtered the pigs, they would have destroyed the retreat of their enemy, and his means of supporting the war. Thus the Servians, however brave and enterprising, could never have maintained themselves against such an overwhelming force as the Turks were able to bring against them; for Servia, with the exception of her forests, and an occasional defile or elevated plateau, does not possess that succession of natural defences we find in the neighbouring countries of Bosnia, Upper Moesia, and the Balkan.

During our route, we now and then met with a fox, a wolf, or a bear; the latter are of a grey colour, and not

large; the lynx and the wild cat are more numerous, and in some districts, near the villages, the hares were as plentiful as rabbits in a warren. The nobler species of deer does not abound in Servia, those that we saw were called by the Servians jir and sirna, the hart and roe-buck. The eagle, the vulture, and the hawk, often met our view, while the ortolan of the prairie seemed to be as plentiful as larks in a stubble field in England.

Determined not to be again obliged to seek our supper among the barn-door fowls of a fanatic Servian baba, we bagged as much game as we thought would suffice for our evening meal. In crossing Mount Lepar, we again saw a bear; and whether Bruin was inexperienced in the ways of the hunting world, certain it is, he most unwisely came within range of our muskets, from which we discharged successive volleys, till he fell. Not knowing what to do with him, we presented our prize to Georgy, who received it with many a slouga pokorni, and dóbro s'dravie, and set about strapping it on his saddle.

Towards evening, we overtook a traveller, whose appearance excited, in no ordinary degree, the wonder of my kiraidji, and travelling companions. I had seen too many of his brethren, not to know that the small cap, linen blouse, and leathern belt, together with the well-stuffed knapsack, drawn after him on an ingenious little hand-carriage, betokened a German operative. When I addressed him in the language of his Deutschen Fatherland, the poor fellow was delighted beyond measure; he informed us he was a saddler, and journeying

on to Bittoglia, in Macedonia, where numbers of his countrymen were employed in making saddles for the Turkish cavalry. It appears he had travelled on foot the whole distance, from Ludwigsburg, in Wurtemberg, with scarcely a coin in his pocket, begging here, and working there; he spoke most gratefully of the Servian people, who never refused to give him a carpet to sleep on, and plenty of food; their benevolence was the more admirable, as the German spoke no language but his own, consequently could not excite their pity by his eloquence. He remained our guest till we parted the next morning. Should these pages ever meet the eye of any of his friends, his name was Christian Holtzman. Surely his perseverance deserves success.

When we entered the streets of Jagodin, men, women, and children crowded around our kiraidji, to admire his shaggy burden. Bears are by no means numerous in this part of Servia; and our good fortune, and skill as marksmen, excited many comments, and some envy, since the flesh of this animal is regarded here as a delicacy. We had a few slices broiled for supper, which we thought excellent. Georgy would have been well contented if we had shot a bear every day, since his purse benefited in no inconsiderable degree by the exploit. He received twenty piastres from the captain of the district, the recompense given by the Government when one of these animals is killed; add to which, he got thirty for the hide; to say nothing of the sum the hanji paid him for Bruin's four quarters, which he intended to salt and dry in the sun;

in which state the meat, we were told, would preserve its nutritious qualities for years.

Jagodin, containing from seven to eight hundred houses, is the largest town we had passed through since leaving Belgrade: with the exception, perhaps, of about a dozen houses two stories high, the remainder were only a repetition of Hassan-Pacha-Palanka. It was Sunday, hence we had an opportunity of seeing the population in their holiday attire. The better class of women were decorated much in the same manner as those we have described at the capital, Belgrade; but the head-dress of the peasants, who came in great numbers, from the remote villages, to church, was unique. On the top of the head was an ornament, in form somewhat resembling a horn; attached to this was a broad band, of some very bright-coloured silk, about two feet in length, falling down the back: others had adopted a sort of crescent, edged with feathers, which might formerly have ornamented the tail of a gallant chanticleer.

The weather having become excessively warm, the women, for the most part, wore a chemise of gray linen, braided, in various colours, with great taste, confined round the waist, by a band, with a large clasp, often of gold or silver. This garment served to set off to the best advantage the gaudy hues of two pieces of thick carpet, that in front had the effect of an apron, while the other served as a seat in a country without chairs or stools. Instead of shoes and stockings, they wore leggings, embroidered with every colour of the

flower-garden, to which were attached sandals. The costume of the men was more diversified—swineherds and shepherds, wrapped up in their sheep-skin mantles, and towering fur caps; the higher class in their crimson shalwars, red fez and hussar jacket, each with their belt full of pistols, appeared as if they had met to consult on some foraying expedition.

We visited the glass manufactory of M. Constantin Thomitch, a Bohemian, a remarkably intelligent man, the first who has introduced the manufacture of this article into Servia. The position he selected has been most judiciously chosen; the necessary material abounds in the vicinity; and what is not frequently seen in this country, he has at his command a fine forest of beech trees for fire-wood.

I left Jagodin dispirited and *ennuyé*—the novelty of the scene, the wild, picturesque country, ever changing, ever varied, with its interesting inhabitants, did not compensate for the loss of my intellectual travelling companion, who found himself, from fatigue, unable to continue his journey; and now, with no other society than that of Georgy, I felt as if I had been cast away upon some unknown country, without any friend to whom I could communicate a single idea. The bracing air of the mountain, and a little philosophy, at length reconciled me to my situation; and I determined to make the best of my position, and see if I could not extract some amusement from the scenes around me.

On leaving Jagodin, we travelled for some miles over a tolerably well laid out road; the general aspect of the

country still continued mountainous, and covered with forests of great extent and magnitude. Droves of pigs alternated, from time to time, with herds of sheep, goats and horned cattle—the latter, similar to the small breed we usually find in Scotland. Here and there might be seen some signs of cultivation; trees had been cut down, and in part burnt, and then left standing, in the midst of fields of maize and corn, like obelisks in mourning; vineyards also seemed to multiply, but the vines, whether from neglect, or that the grape was improved by this mode of culture, were left to trail on the ground, or entwine themselves among the weeds and brushwood that luxuriantly grew among them.

However great an evil may be, and the amount of suffering it may produce, still it is seldom without some counterbalancing good: the famine which, in Western Europe, gave rise to so much misery and distress, was here a subject of congratulation, since it produced such an extraordinary demand for corn, that it proved the means of bringing much additional land into cultivation. Even among these unsophisticated people, the natural cupidity of man displayed itself. I was frequently asked by the peasant, whether the famine would be likely to continue a few years longer: partly because I resolved to be spiteful with people who seemed to rejoice at our misfortunes, and partly because I thought their health would be benefited by a little more work, I told them the scarcity of food was likely to continue a few years longer; and that as the industry and wealth of the inhabitants of Western Europe enabled them to pur-

chase corn and all the luxuries of life, they would act wisely by growing an additional quantity of grain, and might look forward to finding their own fertile fields, if properly cultivated, a mine of wealth more valuable than one of gold.

At Tchoupria we traversed a fine wooden bridge thrown over the Morava, the toll was twenty-five pari for our two horses. I amused myself while Georgy was roasting a string of fat ortolans, I had shot during our route, by strolling through this little town, which contains a few hundred houses. The principal occupation of the inhabitants, both men and women, seemed to be weaving. When at work the aspect they presented was most ludicrous, since the loom being placed in a hole in the ground, nothing but the head and shoulders of the operator remained visible.

At Parachin we crossed another wooden bridge over the rapid Loupkova, again paying a few pari as a toll. On ascending Mount Jouor we obtained a splendid view of the Bosnian Mountains, the lofty Jaskevatz, with that of the Stara Planina near Nissa, and the magnificent defile of the Stalatch. The highest peaks of these mountains still remained covered with snow, and as the wind blew from that direction, the change in the temperature was far too sudden to be agreeable. To increase our discomfort, a violent storm of rain now poured down upon us like a deluge, a visitation much to be dreaded by travellers in these provinces, not only on account of the personal inconvenience it occasions, but the slough-like state to which roads, without

any dressing of stone, are reduced, and which render them impassable for a day or two. This will easily be understood when we add that the soil is of a deep loam with scarcely a pebble, and that to travel over it after heavy rains is like crossing some slippery morass, where for every step in advance, a man may make two in retreat.

In the midst of a torrent of rain we were glad to seek shelter among a colony of gipsies. I thought the dwellings of the good Servians sufficiently primitive, but the architectural efforts of this vagrant race were not superior to those of the beaver. The men and women were nearly naked, the children entirely so, with a most swarthy complexion, white teeth, bright jet-black eyes, and a profusion of tangled raven-black hair; the expression of their countenances was singularly wild and forbidding. They were all engaged either at smith's work, or in fashioning wooden bowls and spoons. They appeared to be comparatively well off, as they had plenty of goats and sheep browzing on the neighbouring hill, and kept horses for sale. During summer they send expeditions of their people to search for gold in the mountain rivers of Bosnia, Upper Moesia, and the Balkan. I was surprised to see how large a quantity they had collected, and of which the chief was desirous I should become the purchaser. They had also picked up some valuable pebbles during their wanderings.

Our gipsy friends most hospitably urged us to remain their guests for the night, and kindly set before us raki and cake baked in the ashes; they gave additional

force to their solicitations, by pointing out the flesh-pots bubbling over the fire, and the good cheer they would afford. This was an abomination to a devout Christian like Georgy, who cursed them as Pagans. As for myself, however tempting might be the savoury odour arising from the flesh-pots, I had no desire to take up my quarters with a people, who unfortunately do not add the virtue of cleanliness to that of hospitality. Hence, in spite of the drenching rain, we once more set out to reach a han at some distance, which bore the ominous name of Haiduk-Tchesmé-Han (the fountain han of the brigands).

The most fatiguing and disagreeable portion of our journey since we entered Servia now commenced. Our road, which was carried along the steep sides of a rugged declivity, consisting of a heavy loam, had been converted by the rain into a perfect quagmire, through which our jaded horses plunged and floundered, and to add to our misery the night overtook us ere we had accomplished half the distance, leaving us in total darkness to plod our weary and dangerous way through a drenching rain. Suddenly poor Georgy's steed lost his footing, and first sliding, then rolling completely over, pitched the plump figure of his terrified rider with a crash into the midst of a tangled thicket of furze, briar and holly, from which I need not say my fat friend did not escape without many scratches and contusions, and innumerable rents in his garments. Scarcely had he regained his legs when I met with a similar accident; more fortunate, however, than Georgy, I alighted unhurt among the

deep soft mire, in which I left the impression of my *Frank* features as a souvenir to any of my friends the Haiducs who chanced to pass that way.

To prevent a similar accident, which might not have so happy a termination, we now resolved to trust to our own feet, and thus plodding kneedeep through the mire, leading our steeds after us, covered with dirt, drenched to the skin, fatigued and hungry, never did mariner after a boisterous cruise hail a port with greater glee than we did the glimmering light of the han in the distance. But, alas! our troubles seemed never to have an end, for on arriving there we found it so full of weather-bound travellers, that we despaired of even a place to sit down. The event proved that we did not give these good people credit for the hospitality they possess, since they not only made place, but insisted on the poor drenched Frank occupying the warmest corner, while coffee, raki, and the friendly tchibouque was pressed upon us on all sides; our bustling hanji also set about preparing for us a smoking posset composed of bruised onions, oatmeal and red pepper, his never-failing specific against the ill effects of a thorough wetting, at the same time placing my drenched garments near the fire, that they might be ready for use by morning. In the midst of all this attention and kindness, I could not help thinking the appellation of our han, as the resort of the brigands of the fountain, a very great misnomer.

With the shadows of night vanished every disagreeable reminiscence of the preceding day, and found me

again on the morning of a beautiful day full of my old propensities for leading the life of a wanderer. Still the torrents of rain had left so many traces of its violence in the numberless tiny cataracts, that poured over our road, as to render it nearly impassable. We contrived, however, to reach an elevated plateau covered with the noblest forest trees, where a most animated scene met our view; the bivouac of a caravan, consisting of from forty to fifty kiraidjis, from the interior of Macedonia, Thessaly and Albania; they were on their way to Belgrade with the produce of their country, but, like ourselves, owing to the state of the roads they could proceed no further, and by way of passing their time, were now encamped around blazing fires, either cooking or smoking the tchibouque.

The remains of numerous fires proved that the spot, at which we had arrived, was a favourite halting place of the kiraidjis, and had been selected on account of the excellence of a fine spring of water gushing from the rock, ornamented by a fountain, the benevolent work of some pious Mussulman, as the inscription testified. The foliage of a gigantic linden shaded it from the rays of the sun; the trunk of a tree scooped out, served as a drinking-trough for our horses, and a wooden drinking-cup, secured by a chain, for the use of the traveller.

Imitating the example of our neighbours, Georgy soon made a fire, when we boiled our coffee, baked our cakes, and broiled our game.

The oaks here were really splendid, many of them

several yards in circumference; and as the shepherds, when wandering over the mountain frequently require shelter from the storm, they had adopted the novel expedient of excavating, if I may so speak, some of the largest of these trees by means of fire, and thus converting them into houses of refuge.

A cloudless sky and a strong bracing wind at length succeeded the storm, which giving promise of a succession of fine weather, the whole caravan were soon in motion making arrangements for their departure. The first note of preparation was a most peculiar and indescribable cry, raised by all the kiraidjis of the caravan, which in a few minutes had the desired effect of reassembling the horses that had been turned into the woods to forage for themselves, all running to their respective owners; though to my obtuse oral faculties, the cry uttered by every kiraidji appeared the same, yet the unerring sagacity of instinct enabled each animal to distinguish his master, who held a little sack of corn, which the unsuspecting brute no sooner tasted, than he was caught by the mane, and obliged again to submit to the burden of the pack-saddle.

In a short space of time the packages were strapped to the saddles of the horses, and the cavalcade in motion, leaving the smouldering fires at the service of the next traveller. In a country where provender can be had in the fields for nothing, and fuel obtained for the trouble of cutting, it is very rarely that any traveller, a native of these provinces, and still more seldom a kiraidji, in fine weather seeks the shelter of

the han. They all carry their provisions and cooking utensils; and at night, surrounded by their packs with a blazing fire in the centre, and rolled up in their kabanitzas, sleep in the open air, in defiance of wind, rain and storm.

During the depth of winter every description of travelling is necessarily suspended in a country without roads, and in which the snow is often several yards in depth, not forgetting the number of wolves that, pressed with hunger, often attack the sheepfolds, unless they are defended by strong palisades, and sometimes even the traveller.

On approaching Upper Moesia and the Turkish frontier, I observed a decided improvement in the manner of cultivating the land, and also in roads; for here and there a layer of gravel had been bestowed with a view, I presume, of impressing the Osmanli with the opinion, that the emancipated Servian had made gigantic strides in civilization. But, as if they intended the roads, like everything else, should differ from those of Western Europe, they had erected large clumsy gates with still clumsier fastenings, which obliged us to descend from our horses so often to open them, that our patience was most severely tried.

Alexinitz, at which we now arrived, the frontier town of Bosnia, Bulgaria and Upper Moesia, is prettily situated on the Morava. A bold range of undulating hills here shoot up, and gradually blend with the stupendous Jaskovatz and Stara Planina of Upper Moesia, as if Nature had intended them to be the boundary of the

principality. The contrast between this town and those we had passed through in the interior was most striking. We found the hans filled with kiraidjis and commercial travellers from the interior of Turkey, and the shops displayed a better description of merchandize.

Unless some untoward circumstance should disturb the harmony that at present exists between Servia and the Ottoman Porte, Alexinitz is likely to become one of the most important towns in the principality; a direct communication opens from here to Constantinople by Sofia, in Bulgaria, and also to Macedonia, Albania and the Adriatic, by following the course of the Morava through the mountain districts of Upper Moesia, and the country of the Rasci. The soil is fertile, the climate salubrious, and the surrounding country highly romantic and picturesque. The fine prairies on the banks of the Morava offer an admirable field for the skilful agriculturist; and to judge from the luxuriance of the vines, planted on the shelving sides of the hills, it might become a most productive wine country.

The town at present contains about four hundred houses, a church, one or two public buildings recently erected, and advancing some pretensions to architectural beauty. The coffee-houses and hans, for the reception of travellers, are also of a better description than are usually found in these provinces, and I observed many indications of an approach to European usages.

During my rambles through the streets of Alexinitz, in which, like all the other towns of Servia, we are

certain to find something new—some feature characteristic of this primitive people—I was struck with the novel manner in which the auctioneer exercises his vocation: when an article is offered for sale, whether a buffalo, a horse or a lady's bracelet, a drummer is sent forth to perambulate the town, exhibit the article, and take the biddings; if he can write, he notes them down in his tablets; if not, why a notch in a piece of wood must serve the same purpose, and when he has completed his promenade, he returns to the auctioneer, who examines the different amount of the sums which have been offered, and if approved of by his employer, a loud rat-a-tat announces that the highest bidder is the purchaser. Nor is this the only office the town drummer exercises; he is, at the same time, the crier and the gazette; he announces the promulgation of a new law by a rat-a-tat, and the most important news of the day; and it is he who summons the inhabitants to arms, should the fierce Arnout, or the Bosnian, be making preparations to cross the frontier.

The vocation of this important functionary does not end here. It is also his office to announce, at nightfall, that the hour has arrived, after which it becomes a punishable offence to be found in the streets without a lighted lantern, lamps having not yet contributed their aid to the enlightenment of Turkey. These lanterns are made of transparent paper, gaudily painted, and so folded as to be capable of being carried in the pocket. The effect of a number of these moving about in different directions, resembling so many gigantic glow-worms, is exceedingly pretty.

The quarantine establishment is of great extent, enclosed with strong palisades, and guarded by a little army of pandours; it contains sheds for merchandize, and stables, a han, and a few huts for the accommodation of the traveller, who may have the means of paying for the luxury of a roof. But as the tourists in this country usually consist of kiraidjis, swineherds, and drovers of cattle, a class who prefer the night air to the expenses of a han, they bivouac in a large open space in the centre, around blazing fires.

During the time I remained a detenu in the quarantine at Alexinitz, I counted from three to four hundred persons, as wild-looking and motley an assemblage as it was ever my lot to be quartered among. Intermingled with the rayahs of Servia, Bosnia, Bulgaria, Herzegowina, and Tchernegoria, there were Turks, and Arnouts, Greeks and Zinzars, Jews, Armenians and Gipsies, habited in the costume of their respective tribes and nationalities, and speaking as many languages as might have rivalled Babel itself. Notwithstanding they drank gallon after gallon of wine and raki, they might be cited as patterns of good conduct and good humour, to the inhabitants of the most civilized country in Europe. Here was no quarrelling nor fighting, all seemed intent upon amusing themselves, by singing, smoking, dancing and cooking. Then, to afford a still greater variety of pastime, there were performers on the bagpipe, the reed and the gousla, together with bards and story-tellers, spouting forth in the expectation of winning a few pari from the audience; these, with our four-footed companions, who, it appeared,

were also doomed to quarantine, formed a most uproarious concert: we had the grunting of swine, the braying of donkeys, the neighing of horses, the lowing of cattle, and the barking of dogs.

Among the various annoyances, to which a traveller is subjected in these countries, the quarantine is the greatest and the most prejudicial to his health. Having set out from Alexinitz to extend my excursions through the Knejine of Gorgouschavatz and Mount Rtagn, we inadvertently, in a frontier so ill-defined as that of Servia, crossed the Turkish frontier, and entered the province of Bosnia. On our return into the principality, we were reminded of the indiscretion by a troop of Servian pandours, who, without much ceremony, conducted us to the establishment at Alexinitz. But as the offence was committed through ignorance, our imprisonment in the quarantine was, as a great favour, reduced from five to three days, which term may be extended to forty, when an epidemic prevails in any of the adjoining provinces.

The most ludicrous part of the affair is, that a traveller can easily elude the quarantine altogether, by taking a circuitous route over some wild mountain district, which we could easily have done, had we been aware of the annoyance; for how is it possible to enforce the quarantine laws in a country so depopulated, and with a frontier so extensive, as that of Servia; the Government having taken the hint from Austria, where the quarantine yields a revenue of more than a million of florins, makes the establishment a source of profit.

Everything must be paid for, the guard of honour demanded a backschish, the clothes and papers were to be fumigated, although several years have elapsed since any case of the plague had occurred in this part of the world, every item swelling the bill of costs against the luckless traveller.

Quarantine establishments may be useful, when pestilence actually rages, but it is provoking to the traveller to be mulcted, in order that the Government may enrich itself at his expense: then the vexatious regulations, by which his patience is put to the test are endless; the despotism of the petty tyrants, who direct them, is absolute; the familiarity of their dirty subalterns, who they are pleased to term guardians, and who penetrate even to the privacy of your sleeping room, most offensive; and for all these annoyances you must pay exorbitantly, and from which extortion there is no appeal. I must in justice add, that these animadversions are principally directed against the quarantine establishments of Austria on the Lower Danube, where, if a traveller is found in the act of infringing the quarantine laws, he is shot by the first guard that meets him, like a mad dog; whereas here, and in Turkey, they are more humane, since a trifling fine is all that is exacted, neither are the charges one-tenth so excessive, nor the vexations so insupportable.

Evil is often the parent of good; my detention in the quarantine proved the means of introducing me, through the German doctor of the establishment, to two English gentlemen at Alexinitz, that town having

been selected by Her Majesty's corps of messengers as their principal station in these provinces of European Turkey; and I must ever remember, with grateful recollections, the pleasant days I spent with Mr. Gutch, who, with true English hospitality, insisted upon my removing to his residence, as soon as the period of my detention was over.

This was, in truth, an unexpected, an unlooked for invitation, in a country so far removed from the great world, and can only be appreciated by the man who has been for any length of time shut out from all intellectual society; for however much we may feel inclined to render all due homage to beautiful Nature, in her most romantic and picturesque forms, and to rate at their full value the agreeable excitement of change and novel incident, yet after a time these become stale, and we pine for a companion, with ideas more enlarged than that of a kiraidji, a swineherd, or an Haiduc.

On entering the sitting-room of Mr. Gutch, how great was my pleasure to see my old friend the "Times" lying on the table, with the venerable "Christopher North" in all the majesty of age and honour reposing by his side, and how gladly did I welcome the Quaker-coloured "Quarterly" and the gay blue and buff "Edinburgh"—nay, I thought the merry face of Master "Punch" wore an expression of greater archness now that he had arrived in Servia. None but the traveller, who has been long cut off from enjoying the rich treasures of England's mind, can fully appreciate the gratification with which I devoured the

contents of these and several other first-rate English publications.

I was also received in the most friendly manner by Mr. Davies, of Crickhowell, South Wales, who had been for some time peering into the pathways and byways of poor Servia. Our mornings were devoted to riding excursions among the mountains, or shooting-parties, and, as may be supposed in a country like this, abounding with game, we had excellent sport.

At present, Her Majesty's messengers are but indifferently quartered, but when their new house is finished, the station at Alexinitz will be a most agreeable *séjour ;* there is capital fishing in the Morawitz, the country abounds with game, and the vicinity of the vast mountain range of the Balkan, and the romantic Bosnia and Upper Moesia, afford a variety of pleasant excursions which would even repay a journey from England.

CHAPTER IV.

Descriptive sketches of Servia—Roads—Turkish fortresses—Route from Belgrade to Widin—Semendria—Singular fountain at Goulebatz—Mount Mirotsch—Splendid prospect—Austrian commerce—Hints to merchants—Swineherds in Servia—Value of pigs—Mineral wealth of Servia—Agriculture—Productions—Traits and characteristics of the inhabitants.

As we do not intend this work as a guide-book to the tourist; a lengthened description of all the little towns, villages, mountains, valleys and plains we visited during our excursions in Servia, would neither interest the reader nor bring him acquainted with the country and its inhabitants, since their customs, manners and habits are everywhere the same. Here we see no populous, wealthy city with its churches and galleries of paintings and sculpture; no large, industrious town, with its enterprizing inhabitants engaged in the strife and turmoil of civilized life. In a word, this is a country, with few exceptions, that bears all the marks of one recently discovered; even the roads, when we find them, appear to have been newly made,

since those of ancient date lie hidden from view by the grass and herbage of centuries. All the little towns, villages and hamlets we pass through are mere huts, slightly constructed on the ruins of those consumed by the devastating fury of the Turkish troops, when the fanatic zealot of Islamism, and the equally fanatic zealot of a purer faith were engaged in their horrid and deadly strife. It is true there are the ruins, misnamed fortresses to assert the antiquity of the country, and to tell by their battered walls and crumbling towers the fearful tale, that here the hand of man has been raised, with murderous intent, against his fellow man. The Turks still occupy these ruined fortresses, the sole relic of their power, the sole evidence that they still retain a hold on the country, as a guarantee for the faithful payment of its tribute to the Sultan—delusive hope! any sudden outbreak among the warrior population of this principality, and their tenure would terminate; for, shut out from all communication with the adjoining provinces, that still acknowledge the rule of the Sultan, their garrisons must capitulate immediately, or be starved out in a few weeks.

The route from Belgrade to Alexinitz, the frontier town of Bulgaria, is practicable for a carriage, but even this is impassable except in fine weather. I found another road of the same description from Belgrade to Bosnia through Chabats. Bad as these roads are, at least they are a proof that civilization has commenced. Several others are in progress, intended to intersect the principality in different directions; but as the good

Servians, however much they may excel as warriors, are sadly deficient in the railroad energy that characterizes the inhabitants of Western Europe, we fear, if left to their own resources and exertions, the present generation will not witness the completion of a work so necessary to the commercial prosperity of a country.

One of the most interesting tours I made in these provinces, was from Belgrade to Widin, during which the traveller is everywhere presented with a succession of the most splendid vistas. The country, bold and mountainous, is broken into tiny valleys and deep defiles, through which several fine rivers—the Morava, the Jisara, the Timok, and other minor streams—are seen rolling on to the mighty Danube. The frontier, towards Bulgaria, in Turkey, offers many formidable points of natural defence, very valuable to the Servian, if the Turks should, at any future time, attempt an invasion.

Semendria, or, as the Servians call it, Smederevo, is the most considerable town we meet with during our route: it probably contains eight hundred houses. The next to this in importance is Pojerevatz, and where it has been found impracticable to carry the road along the shelving banks of the Danube, it is conveyed across several heights of considerable elevation, impassable for any description of carriage. At Goulebatz we find a very singular fountain, which ebbs and flows every six hours—a natural time-piece, by which the peasants note the hours of the day.

Near this fountain is the splendid castellated ruin of

the same name, erected on a precipitous rock of fearful height, and composed of eight ruined towers, joined together by curtained walls. Several inscriptions, in the Turkish language, record that it had been more than once put in repair by that people, and served them as a position of defence. It was taken and re-taken alternately by the Hungarians, the Servians, and the Turks, and ultimately fell into the hands of the latter, about the year 1427. In the walls and outer defences may be discovered numerous points of arrows, proving it to have existed as a fortress before the invention of cannon. One of its lofty towers bears the name of the Empress Helena, who, it is presumed, was imprisoned here.

The road now passes over the precipitous sides of a mountain upwards of two thousand feet in height; here commences the splendid defile of the Danube. Further on, we come to Dobra (the good), with its ancient fortifications and extensive caverns. After this, we soon arrive at the rocks of Donie Demir-capi, which is more generally known, as the iron gate of the Danube. This is succeeded by the fine old castle, Milanowitz.

After passing this ruin, the road is carried across Mount Mirotsch to Berza-Palanka, Negotin, and Widin. From the lofty summit of this mountain-road, the traveller sees spread before him, as if in a map, one of the most picturesque landscapes in Servia, ever-changing, ever-varying, as he advances, from the deep defile and verdant valley, to the rugged rock and lofty

precipice. Mountains are seen covered to their summit with the dense forest, tiny plains and dells, each watered with its own limpid stream, occasionally falling in a cascade from the precipitous sides of some jutting rock; and, however wild may be the aspect of the landscape, the soil is fertile, and, for the most part, might be appropriated to all the purposes of agriculture, and the cultivation of the vine; while every height, crowned with its own ever-green plateau, would serve as pastures for innumerable flocks and herds.'

In the present day, were it not for the occasional glimpse of a tiny hamlet, partly hid in some deep dell, or romantic forest; or a swineherd tending his half-wild pigs, we might deem the country uninhabited; but that it contained, in remote ages, a numerous population, and was a district of great importance, from its near proximity to the Danube, is attested by the ruins of towns and forts, here so frequently met with. Numerous vestiges of its occupation by the Romans still exist in their well-known paved roads, forts, and castellated towers.

The trifling value attached to land in this principality must appear incredible to those persons accustomed to estimate its value in Western Europe. While passing over Mount Mirotsch, I had for my companion a wealthy Servian, enveloped in his sheepskin kabanitza, and, as usual with those people, armed to the teeth—pistols in his girdle, and long gun slung across his shoulder. However fierce and warlike might be his aspect, in other respects he was a complete child of

nature, ignorant of the great world, its cares, and troubles. He was the proprietor of the land over which we were then travelling, but appeared to attach very little importance to its possession; the value of his large army of pigs, goats and sheep, which he declared increased so rapidly, that he never knew their real number, seemed principally to occupy his attention.

Our wealthy swineherd pointed out to me a drove of fat grunters, who were then most diligently turning up the earth in search of some root more dainty than the heaps of acorns that lay around them, and requested me to tell him how much he should be likely to obtain a head for them in the London markets. When I assured him that each animal would be worth at least three hundred Turkish piastres, he cast upon me a look expressive at once of incredulity and anger, evidently regarding me as some mischief-loving Frank, who was amusing himself with his ignorance. Then, without even vouchsafing me a single 'slouga,' or a 'phala-bog,' the usual salutation at parting, he spurred his steed, and being well mounted, soon left us in the distance.

I did not feel surprised at the conduct of the good Servian, or his disbelief in my assertions, since the Austrians, who are the sole purchasers here, never pay more than three or four florins a head for these animals, and then send them to every market in Germany. Might not this prove an advantageous speculation for some of our own wealthy traders? In the interior of the country they can be bought even at a lower rate at the same time, their flavour being similar to that of

the wild boar, which they somewhat resemble in form, renders them the more acceptable to the epicure. Now, as the Danube is equally open to the commercial speculation of an Englishman, as an Austrian, I trust that some of my friends will profit by the hint, and make their fortunes.

I feel assured that if some of our enterprizing countrymen, acquainted with commercial pursuits, were to visit these provinces of European Turkey, they would find a rich field, as yet unexplored: both here, as well as in Moldavia and Wallachia, I found a most anxious desire on the part of the inhabitants to establish a more intimate commercial connexion with Great Britain. Prince Constantine Soutzo, of Moldavia, one of the most extensive landed-proprietors of the province, frequently expressed to me his wishes to that effect, and begged me, on my return home, to open for him a negociation with some English merchant for the disposal of his timber, corn and cattle, which seemed to lie upon his hands without the possibility of a sale.

As all commerce should be reciprocal, perhaps it may be expected that I should suggest what articles of our manufactures would be most likely to find a lucrative sale. Sheffield cutlery, which all admire and covet, together with Staffordshire wares, would be much prized. As to printed calicoes, the Austrians monopolize the market; this is, however, not owing to their cheapness, nor the superiority of the fabric, but the manufacturer has had the wisdom to consult the taste of his buyers. The chief purpose for which they require

calico is to make their long loose pelisse; for these they use gaudy colours with broad stripes; it would, however, be advisable to send an agent to study the pattern, in order to secure with safety an extensive sale. In addition to these people, the Turks, particularly, have a decided predilection for everything that is English; the Austrian and Swiss manufacturers, aware of this *penchant*, most adroitly affix to their spurious and flimsy goods the name of some well-known English manufacturer. Oiled paper being now superseded by glass for windows, occasions a large demand for the latter article. Watches are coveted by all ranks, and are valued and admired in proportion to their size.

In the interior of Bulgaria and Upper Moesia, the low prices of provisions and cattle of every description is almost fabulous compared with the prices of Western Europe. A fat sheep or lamb usually costs from eighteen pence to two shillings, an ox forty shillings, cows thirty shillings, and a horse, in the best possible travelling condition, from four to five pounds sterling; wool, hides, tallow, wax and honey, are equally low. In the towns and hans, by the road-side, everything is sold by weight; you can get a pound of meat for a half-penny, a pound of bread for the same, and wine, which is also sold by weight, costs about the same money.

In Servia, pigs everywhere form the staple commodity of the country. I have seen some that would weigh from one hundred and fifty to two hundred pounds, or more, offered for sale at three hundred Turkish piastres the dozen; in the neighbourhood of

the Danube they fetch a little more. The expense of keeping these animals in a country abounding with forests being so trifling, and the prospect of gain to the proprietor so certain, we cannot wonder that no land-holder is without them, and that they constitute the richest class in the principality. In fact, pig-jobbers are here men of the highest rank: the prince, his ministers, civil and military governors, are all engaged in this lucrative traffic. I have been assured that between three and four hundred thousand are annually exported alone to Austria. They are frequently sent up the Danube by steam to Central Germany, and even find their way to Strasburg and Paris; but the transit and custom-house duty being high, the inhabitants are deprived of a cheap article of food so welcome to the poor man's table; consequently, except in Austria, where the duty never exceeds the original price of the animal, the speculation has not proved a profitable enterprise. In England, where the speculator has not to contend against a ruinous duty, I should imagine he would find it more advantageous to have his pigs killed and salted in the country, in order to avoid the losses that might be sustained during a long sea voyage.

In some districts of Servia they rear immense flocks of sheep; the breed is of an inferior description, and seem to be the substitute for the cow. The cheese made from the milk is in universal use. Horned cattle and buffaloes are principally used as beasts of burden. Their horses resemble those of the Cossacks in Russia;

they are a Tatar race, and more esteemed for their sure-footedness and durability than symmetrical forms.

Although the mineral riches of the principality are as yet undeveloped, the sands of several of the rivers are so abundantly supplied with gold as to support a washing establishment. At Maiden Pek, on the road to Widin, an attempt has been made to work the silver and lead mines. The coal mines have hitherto proved a failure; but this is entirely owing to the ignorance of the miners, for, to use the language of the miner, I have seen the coal crop out in such a manner as to justify the expectation of great abundance; indeed, both here and in nearly every province of European Turkey, I frequently perceived the same indication of an abundant supply of this most necessary article to the wealth and commercial prosperity of a country. Iron also abounds. The white marble found at Stoudenitza, of which I saw a polished specimen at Belgrade, appeared to me to be equal in beauty to that of the far-famed Paros. The porphyry sienite and serpentine is found everywhere. Of salt there is a total want, but the inhabitants have only to cross the Danube into Wallachia to obtain it.

The Servians bestow some care in their cultivation of the vine; a white wine, called the Smederevski, is the most in favour; it somewhat resembles in flavour the wines of Burgundy. There is a tradition still existing among the vine-dressers of Smederevo, that the vines from which this wine is made were originally planted by

the Emperor Probus. There cannot be a doubt, if there were more skill employed in the management of this wine, and barrels used instead of skins pitched inside, that it might be relished even by a connoisseur.

Agriculture in Servia, where at least two-thirds of the land is either covered by forests or uncultivated, has made but little progress. The form of the plough is in no way changed from that which it bore during the heroic days of immortal Greece. It is, however, sufficient for this fertile soil, which, produces with the least possible care a plentiful crop. Threshing is performed in a most primitive manner; buffaloes and oxen are fastened to a stake driven into the ground, and then compelled, *nolens volens*, to perform a succession of circular evolutions till they have trampled out the grain from the straw; in some places a marble roller is used for the same purpose.

Like the patriarchs of old, the husbandman of Servia does not rob the earth of its entire produce; some portion is ever left as food for those wild children of nature that depend on her bounty alone. If his family increase, or he hears that a famine exists in other lands, he resolves to take a small portion of additional land into cultivation; but being of opinion that it manifests no wisdom to bestow superfluous labours on the operation, he proceeds to set fire to the superb forest, consequently in a few days his merciless ally clears a space sufficient for all his wants.

The fruits of Western Europe arrive here at great

perfection; the forests abound with wild plums and cherries.

Wheat, barley, millet, buckwheat and Indian corn are the principal grains cultivated; the latter is the most productive, yielding an enormous increase. The flour is boiled with milk into a stiff porridge, to which they give the name of 'mamolinga.' It is most nutritive, and ever to be found in the poorest hut.

The anniversary of getting in the harvest is always celebrated by public rejoicings. At break of day, the starachin, the elder of the village, assembles all the able-bodied men of his tribe, who, preceded by a banner, drums and musical instruments, repair to the fields, when the corn is cut down and equally divided among the members; this is called the 'moba.' At the same time a portion is set aside for the maintenance of the poor and infirm. This constitutes a system of socialism on a small scale, which may be carried into practice by a primitive people, where all are of the same rank, the same kindred, and engaged in the same occupation.

Their method of grinding corn is still most primitive. There are few wind or water-mills in the country; consequently the hand-mill is in universal use.

The principal riches of the principality consists in its flocks and herds. The Servian, like the Arab, prefers wandering from valley to mountain to fatiguing himself with the more severe labours of agriculture. Some of these tribes of shepherds encamp

with their flocks and herds even during the winter, selecting a sheltered nook, where they erect sheds for themselves and their charge as a protection from the severity of the weather.

After St. George's Day they leave their winter quarters, and again take to the fields. They first make the tour of the valleys, and then commence ascending the hills, and as the summer advances, climb to some plateau on the top of a mountain, where they are certain to find a plentiful supply of the finest herbage, while all beneath is crumbling to dust beneath the scorching rays of the sun. Here they remain till the festival of St. Demetrius, when they again descend to the valley, and seek some favoured spot as their winter quarters.

It is impossible to conceive any class of men more simple in their habits, or more hospitable and good-natured than these shepherds—their stores of cheese, raki and bags of meal are ever at the service of the traveller. They are generally robust and well armed, not that they have anything to apprehend from the violence of man, now that they have not to dread the marauding visit of the Arnout, but in these wild districts they have much to fear for their helpless charge from the attack of wolves and birds of prey, and notwithstanding all their care and vigilance, many a tender suckling falls to the lot of the stealthy wolf and the daring lämmergeyer.

A carriage manufactured at Pest, in Hungary, is now and then seen at Belgrade or Kragoucjavatz, where

the Prince generally resides in summer, but with this exception the wealthiest classes ride on horseback. The peasant is his own wheelwright, and takes as a model for his cart the amaxis of the ancient Greeks. He also constructs his own dwelling, upon which we have already shown he does not bestow any superfluous labour or expense. A cluster of these huts, appropriated to the use of his family, his flocks and herds, surrounded by strong palisades, may be termed the dwelling of a peasant in comfortable circumstances.

To say the truth, a house is by no means a necessary appendage to the comfort of a hardy Servian, who prefers sleeping in the open air, at least from May till October, a practice in which he can indulge with perfect safety, in a climate so dry and healthy as this. During my long tour in these provinces I also adopted the same custom, and never once found the slightest ill effects from the night air; if it happened to rain, not unfrequently the case in our mountain bivouac, an ample thick kabanitza, manufactured from coarse wool by the peasants, over which I threw my Mackintosh, preserved me from being drenched. I had also another powerful inducement to seek my nightly couch under the free canopy of heaven, I escaped from the dirt and filth of a han, and those tormenting phlebotomists, who ever muster, thousands strong, to welcome the advent of a Frank traveller.

With respect to the fountains we so frequently find in Servia, the inhabitants owe much to their former masters, the Turks, who secured to them an ample

supply of the finest water: in every town, village and horsepath (for we cannot call them roads) we find fountains, often tastefully constructed, and of marble, affording the weary traveller a refreshing and crystal-clear draught, who ever hails the sight of one with pleasure. They are usually an offering of the piety and benevolence of some Sultan, or charitable Mussulman, as we are informed by the inscription, who having refreshed himself and his escort from the limpid stream, and found the water good, out of gratitude to the Giver of all Good reared the structure, with the view of imparting for ever the same blessing to his fellow-men; and surely there are few works of mercy which confer a greater benefit than bestowing on those who most need it a sufficiency of water, the true value of which is never known, save by the parched burning lip that has wanted it. As these road-side fountains are always shaded by a clump of the splendid linden, or some other species of umbrageous tree, they become the resting place of the caravan by day, and the bivouac by night.

CHAPTER V.

Historical sketch of the Slavonians—Character of the Servians —Their nationality—Present and future prospects—Affinity between the Servian and Anglo-Saxon races—Concluding remarks.

HAVING formerly visited a great part of Russia, Poland and Bohemia, and made myself tolerably conversant with the language, customs and manners of the inhabitants, I felt deeply interested in observing the traits which distinguish another member of the great Slavonian family; and I could not refrain from remarking how clearly the characteristics they displayed proved the descent of all from one common origin; even the idioms of the language I found identical with that of the Russian, the Pole and the Bohemian.

With respect to the origin of this, the most numerous of all European families, the piesmas of this people ascend high into the obscure regions of traditionary lore, and tell us that near the little town of Sagorie, in Croatia, we shall find a rock surrounded

by a ruin called Krapina (castellated fortress), the cradle of the Slavonian race. It appears that a mighty huntress, named Illyria, was driven from Asia by her more powerful rival Nimrod, and having wandered far and wide, at length found a refuge on this rock, where she built a castle, and being blessed with a husband, in the shape of one of those celestial beings, who, in days of yore, became captivated with the fair daughters of mortality, she gave birth to three sons, Tchekh, Lekh, and Rouss.

The heavenly parent, possessed of the wisdom of a higher race of beings, imparted to his sons a knowledge of the mysteries of religion, the sciences, and the useful arts, and sent them forth to seek their fortune.

Tchekh, the eldest, settled in Bohemia, where he founded a powerful empire, extending from the Rhine to the Baltic, and the German Ocean: this was partly destroyed, or divided into small states, by the inroad of a devastating horde from Asia, called the Allemani—the Germans of to-day. The descendants of Tchekh again became united under their leader Slavione (man of war). How great must have been the renown of this valiant chief, who thus gave his own name to the whole race of Illyria, and founded the empire of Moravia.

The Germans, under Arnolph, their Emperor finding they were unable to oppose so formidable an enemy, summoned the aid of the numerous horde, the Magyar, who, fierce and savage as the tiger of the desert, utterly ruined the empire of the Moravians. In the year 907, the last battle of the race of Tchekh, to secure

their independence, was fought under the walls of Presburg. With the exception of Bohemia, which for some time maintained itself as a kingdom, the Slavonians of this race have remained subject to the rule of the German and the Magyar. We may also be allowed to embellish our little historical sketch by alluding to a fact, which has recently taken place, in the relative position of these two opposing races, German and Slavonian. The wily German who, in this instance, preferred fighting by delegate, finding he could not subdue his old friend the fierce Magyar, whom circumstances had converted into an enemy, looks around, and summons to his aid the Rouss, who gladly took up the gauntlet, for years had not obliterated the memory of the devastation and wholesale slaughter inflicted by the fiery Hun on the unfortunate descendants of his brother Tchekh. Lekh, the second son, who adopted Poland as his home, also founded a powerful empire, and bequeathed his name to a people the most chivalrous and intellectual, and at the same time the most restless and turbulent, of all the sons of Illyria. Lekh has also been most unfortunate, since he has been obliged to bend the knee in slavery to his younger brother, Rouss.

Rouss, whose name now designates one of the most powerful empires in the world, is presumed to have settled in those countries between the Don and the Wolga, where we find a Slavonian race, bearing from time immemorial the name of Mala-Rouss, to this day the most warlike of all the inhabitants of Russia. When

the devastating horde of the wild Tatar overran the entire country, the Mala-Rouss disdaining to submit to the rule of the infidel stranger, and determining that the spot where their great progenitor had first pitched his tent should be for ever sacred to his race, here made their first resolute stand against the invader.

In order more effectually to protect themselves, they formed a confederacy; elected a Hetman, or chief; invited to their service all who were willing to combat the infidels and taking the name of Cossack (free soldiers), were long the terror of Turk and Tatar, whose total overthrow was mainly attributable to their prowess; and they may be said to have a second time established the sovereignty of the Rouss.

It appears from the traditions of the Illyrians, that Illyria and her celestia lspouse founded an immense empire extending from Epirus in Greece, to the Danube and the Black Sea; and comprehending the whole of the maritime coast of Hungary to Venice and Trieste, with Istria, Carniola, Carinthia, Styria and Friouli. This empire is said to have existed previous to the arrival of Cadmus, in Greece. Neither tradition nor history informs us how it had been originally constructed; for we find it at a very early epoch broken up into a number of tribes, with their independent chieftains at war with each other, and only forming a confederacy when it became necessary to ward off some common danger.

History and tradition afford us many interesting details of the battles of the Illyrians with the ancient Greeks and Romans. During the reigns of Philip and

Alexander several of the tribes became incorporated in the Macedonian monarchy, and furnished some of the bravest soldiers in their armies; the piesmas and national songs of the Slavon-Illyrians in Austria and Turkey are still sung, and record the martial deeds of their fathers. The population in the present day amounts to about fourteen millions, forming a great moral unity in language, customs and traditions; at the same time the majority profess the Greek ritual.

Napoleon was well versed in the history of this people, when he flattered their national pride by reviving old associations in his proclamation of an Illyrian monarchy. Thus, by arming the hereditary bondsmen of Turkey and Austria, he made his enemies, their enemies, and gained a step forward in his march to univeral conquest.

After the overthrow of Napoleon, Illyria again fell to her old master Austria, who, however, found it expedient to flatter the national vanity of the people by preserving the little kingdom of Illyria, making Trieste and Laybach the capitals. Still, the pride of race and remembrance of ancient glory once awakened, is not easily forgotten. This feeling has been the cause of great uneasiness and vexation to the Austrian Government, and also to that of the Sultan. After a series of efforts, continued for nearly half a century, the propagandists of Illyrian panslavism have at length acquired the command of a powerful lever. A literature has been created, which circulates from the Adriatic to the Danube and the Black Sea, and thence through Bulgaria and Servia to the Bosphorus. Need I add that

these works are read with attention, and welcomed with enthusiasm.

The Servians, whether of this principality, or the adjoining provinces of Bosnia, Herzegowina and Tchernegoria, as well as in Austria and Hungary, appear to me to be the noblest race of all the Slavonians; their bold, martial bearing arrests attention at the first glance—broad shoulders, athletic and robust, they present the very model of a soldier. Taken in general, they are about the middle height; still, I have seen not a few who might be admitted into our Life Guards.

Like every people just emancipated from a servitude of centuries, the Servian cannot be expected to exhibit in his features a high intellectual expression. He is lively and poetic; and the blue, or hazel eye, dark chesnut hair, oval face and good-humoured smile, are all perfectly European; while the truth you see reflected in every lineament of his honest countenance creates a confidence in his integrity, which is seldom, or never, misplaced; more primitive in his ideas and habits than the matter-of-fact native of the West, he preserves in his manners and customs many traces of the ancients, their poetry and superstition. In religious matters he is not altogether so great a bigot, at least, in this principality, as his brethren in the other provinces of European Turkey. Still, being a member of a Church so exclusive as the schismatic Greek, he is imbued with a certain degree of intolerance, which has burst forth into action during every epoch in the history of his

country down to the present day, and may be said to be the cause of all his misfortunes.

In Bosnia, Croatia and Herzegowina, where we find Servian Mussulmen, Servian schismatic Greeks, and Servian Roman Catholics, this intolerance prevails to such a deplorable extent, that these provinces might be termed the battle-field of European religious strife; there rayahs of the Greek Church, rayahs of the Roman Church, each in their turn make common cause with the infidel Mussulman, in the hope of exterminating their detested rival.

So early as the year 1448, these Servians of the Greek Church, jealous of the victories of the Hungarian hero, Hunyad, deserted him on the field of battle, and joined the Turks, dreading that if he should be victorious, he would compel them to adopt the Latin creed as their rule of faith. The same feeling was again manifested at the capitulation of Belgrade, in 1521, and was the principal cause of that fortress remaining so long in the hands of the Osmanli.

This bitter religious animosity displayed itself only a few years since, during the Servian War of Independence. The Turkish army, consisting of from thirty to forty thousand men, for the most part composed of the valiant spahis of Albania and Bosnia, invaded Servia. This fanatic host was now assembled with the two-fold object of regaining their lost pachaliks and spahiliks, and of revenging themselves on a Giaour people, from whose prowess they had so often suffered defeat; exulting in

their numbers they felt certain of victory, certain of trampling the Cross for ever in the dust. When we take the circumstances of great fanatical excitement on the part of this invading host into consideration, this cannot surprize us; but when we learn that a large body of Christians of the Latin creed, natives of Turkish Croatia, joined the Osmanli army as volunteers, and ranged themselves beneath the standard of the Crescent in their crusade against the liberties of the Slavon-Greek Christians in Servia, we must pass our severest condemnation on the spiritual advisers of this poor, ignorant people, who, in their animosity towards a rival faith, could have so far forgotten the humanizing principles of Christianity, which inculcates love and charity to all mankind; for we cannot suppose, that, unless excited by their clergy, any hope of plunder or enmity could have impelled them to assist in the extermination of their own race and brother Christians of Servia.

Perhaps history, in all her dark records of human crime, has not a page blackened by more atrocious deeds than those perpetrated by this invading army. I was informed by more than one eye-witness, that so complete was the work of destruction, the country, as these hell-hounds advanced, resembled not a desert, but a charnel-house; neither youth nor beauty, neither age, nor infirmity nor sickness, stayed the sword: all were mercilessly slaughtered, the villages were burnt, the forests set on fire; and every man caught with arms in his hands was impaled.

Happily for Servia, she possessed a master mind

equal in energy and patriotism to the emergency. Tzerni George saved his country; and we hope that his name, and the deed, will be chronicled for ever in the history of Servia. With only seven thousand infantry, and about from two to three thousand cavalry, he entirely routed the Turkish host. A Seraskier and two Pachas fell on the field of battle, together with the bravest Beys and Spahis of Bosnia and Albania.

This glorious and decisive battle placed Tzerni George at the head of Servia; he became the idol of his countrymen, and the terror of the Turks; and by his undaunted courage and great military talents, he won the entire confidence of the people, and infused into them a determination to wring their independence from the tyrants who had so long oppressed them.

We cannot, then, wonder, that having achieved his emancipation by a succession of brilliant victories, the Servian of this Principality, however humble his position in life, feels a proud confidence in himself, which he is by no means backward in exhibiting. This patriotism induces him to yield obedience to the laws of his country, and attaches him sincerely to the land for which he so nobly bled. There is also about this people a degree of natural good sense, which serves as an effective substitute for political experience. This was manifested in a prominent degree on a recent occasion, when the independence of the country was in great danger. Having succeeded in overthrowing the tyrannical government of the ill-advised and despotic Milosh, and his weak son, Michaeli, and elevated the

reigning Prince, Alexander, to sovereign power; they were threatened with invasion by Austria and Russia. These menaces they utterly disregarded, being determined to support the Prince of their choice, whatever might be the consequences. Time has proved his worthiness to fill the high station he occupies; and the Servians have the satisfaction of evincing how deeply they feel indebted to, and how sincerely they reverence the memory of, his noble father, the unfortunate Tzerni George.

When we reflect that their long and fearful struggle for independence has only recently terminated, and by which their resources must have been weakened; when we remember the ordeal through which they had to pass during the reign of Milosh, whose expulsion from the country must have created disunion and separate interests, those great hindrances to the establishment of confidence in a government, and the advancement of prosperity; we must yield our admiration to the energy, the firmness of purpose, and the public virtue of a people, as yet comparatively strangers to the civilization and enlightenment of the age.

Without having any especial bias in favour of the Servian, beyond that of the inhabitant of any other of the various nationalities of European Turkey, we must come to the conclusion that they possess all the elements of a people, destined at no distant period to form, with their more civilized brethren of Austria and Hungary, a mighty nation; this may be predicted with the more certainty of success, now that ill-advised Austria

has crushed the only element—the Magyar—that could, with any possibility of success, oppose a barrier to the Slavon-Illyrian panslavism of these countries; and we may be assured that its energetic propagandists will never cease their efforts till they have effected a complete union of all its members. The Ban Jellachich, or any other Austrian Slavonian General, may, or may not, prove faithful to the colours of his imperial master; but we may rest assured that the entire Slavonian people, of whatever nationality or religious persuasion, equally detest, and are equally impatient of, the rule of the Austrian or the Turk.

The Servian is also prudent in a high degree, and persevering in any enterprize he may undertake, and though fierce in war, he is mild and conciliating in social life. His language, of all the Slavon idioms, is the richest, the most lofty and expressive. While attending the parliamentary debates of the Scoupchtina, I was much struck with the self-possessed, dignified air of the almost unlettered orators, who were earnest without violence, impassioned without intemperance, depending rather on the force of their arguments than the strength of their lungs and theatrical gesticulations to win the attention of their auditors. When I turned from one to the other of the honest, manly countenances of the speakers, I fancied they might have pictured an assembly of Britons, in the infant ages of our commonwealth. In fact, they resemble us in more than one particular; they have the same dogged resolution, the same love of fair play, the same detestation of the use

of the knife, together with no inconsiderable portion of that mixture of the aristocratic and democratic in their character, which so especially distinguishes the Anglo-Saxon race.*

* Since writing the above, in 1847, on my return to these provinces of Turkey and Austria, in 1850, I was made aware, by the conversation of several learned Servian professors at Belgrade and Agram, that they attribute to the English nation a Servian origin, and reproach us not a little for our indifference to the welfare of our brethren in the East. In support of this theory, they refer to the history and tradition of their own race, who, it appears, were settled on the shores of the Baltic and the German Ocean long before the inroad of the Saxons, and having subsequently merged their name in that of their conqueror, formed the great majority of the tribes who, under Saxon chiefs, invaded and settled in Britain. This fact, they say, is further confirmed by the striking affinity between the Servian language and the Old Saxon Platt Deutch, and consequently the number of Servian words in the English language. They farther maintain, that our system of self-government, and indomitable love of liberty, are all derived from our Servian ancestors, and that we have only to study the customs and manners of their race—their endeavours to establish a system of self-government wherever they have not been brutalized by the tyrannical rule of the Turk, and the bureaucracy of the German—to be assured of the fact. What will Russia and its Panslavism say to this? or our learned Anglo-Saxon friends in England!

We have merely mentioned the subject for the investigation of some future traveller more learned than ourselves, who will find, should he feel disposed to extend his excursions as far as Agram, a most intelligent companion in Professor Vekoslav Babukie, to assist him in his researches.

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CHAPTER VI.

Warlike tendencies of the Servian nationality—Contrast between them and the Greeks—Sketches illustrative of their character—Abilities as legislators—Military system in Servia—State of education—Finances—Taxes, how levied—Prosperous state of the Principality—Reflections and general observations.

INSURRECTIONS, however much they may have been provoked by oppression and tyranny, and however successful they may have been in their result, inevitably entail discontent and misery on at least one generation, and retard, for a lengthened period, the prosperity even of a well ordered community. Let a people, possessing every public virtue, prudence, disinterestedness, honesty, once arrogate to themselves supreme authority, and become accustomed to wield the destinies of their country, and their nature is changed. Each man then considers himself a hero, and a return to the toil and labour of former days is a degradation, which his now elevated ideas will not allow him to submit to.

When the excitement of [illegible] glorious exploits is

over, and he sees starvation before him, unless he condescends to occupy himself with what he deems ignoble employment; he regrets he did not, while he had the sovereign power in his own hands, secure to himself some portion of those loaves and fishes, which he now sees in the hands of a less deserving patriot than himself. With these enlarged ideas, he becomes irritable and unhappy, discusses politics, and plots another revolution, determining the next time not to allow honesty to be a stumbling-block to the acquisition of wealth.

Although we do not pretend to say that these observations are applicable in all their severity to our good Servian, it must be confessed his country is not without its plague spots, the effect of a long and victorious insurrectionary contest; for here, as in more civilized countries, the man who has been accustomed to enrich himself with predatory warfare, rarely becomes an industrious member of society.

Years have passed over since the Servian gained his independence, still we see one of the most fertile countries in the world, where land may be purchased by the emigrant at the lowest possible rate, without a population to call into activity its varied sources of wealth. The cause is sufficiently apparent to the traveller, Servia must lay aside her warlike garb, and her children exchange the sword for the plough, before she will attract the capitalist to establish manufactories, and the skilful agriculturist to cultivate her soil. These are the men who never embark in any enterprize, unless they are certain of being protected by a powerful executive,

and that the general tendency of the people is towards peace, in their foreign relations, and order in their domestic administration.

The inhabitants of this principality, as well as those of Modern Greece, are discontented at the contracted space of the territory they now occupy. Whether you commune with a swineherd, or Kapitan of a nahia (circle), with a meek priest, or with an Ispravnik, the proud warrior-governor, whose rule ranges over a district as large as a petty kingdom in Germany, all will tell you Servia cannot rest as she is, her frontier must be extended, till it embraces the territory, once subject to her great Kral, Stephan Douschan, till the Slavon-Servian, his brother, has burst the bonds that hold him in subjection to an infidel Osmanli, and a heretic Latin Schwab, as they term the Austrian.

To this cause we may attribute the circumstance of the inhabitants of Modern Greece and Servia having not yet become, either in feelings or habits, peaceful, industrious citizens. The Greek sees in futurity a splendid vision—the enormous booty—the boundless wealth to be obtained in the sacking of Constantinople. The Servian, true to his warlike propensities, pictures Milosh to his hopes, who from a swineherd became a sovereign. "What," he asks himself, "should prevent me from attaining the same elevated position in the next insurrection?"

In consequence of similar ambitious dreams, these two fine countries, the one situated on the navigable Danube, fertile to exuberance,—the other, bathed on all sides by the sea, abounding in beautiful valleys and

plains, the rich lands of the Morea, capable of producing not only all the necessaries, but the luxuries of life, and which in ages past supported millions of civilized men, continue to be in a great measure neglected,—their vast resources left undeveloped; and notwithstanding they have been so many years independent, the two countries scarcely contain a population of two millions. Still, however trifling may be the population of these two petty states, the very fact of their being independent of the Ottoman Porte renders them the gathering points of all the Christian malcontents among the Sultan's subjects. The Servian frontier is only separated by Upper Moesia from the free state of Tchernegoria. Thessaly, Macedonia, and Epirus, whose inhabitants, Greeks and Slavon-Greeks, have only to form a junction with their brethren in faith, the Slavonians of the Servian race in Tchernegoria and Herzegowina, when they could completely isolate the only two provinces in European Turkey, Albania and Bosnia, where Islamism has taken a deep root. Again we have the numerous tribes of the Slavon-Bulgarians, to which we shall have occasion to refer hereafter, amounting to between four and five millions of Christians professing the Greek ritual, occupying those vast countries on the Lower Danube, the Black Sea, the Balkan, Thrace and part of Macedonia, who, however peaceful may be their general character, would find it their interest to join in any movement which might have for its object their emancipation from the rule of a Mahometan sovereign.

It must, therefore, be evident, that should these hitherto hostile races, Greek and Slavonian, form a union, to effect which M. Colletti, the late minister of King Otho, squandered the revenues of Greece, the rule of the Sultan must for ever cease in these provinces; and that this will sooner or later be the result, if he continue to exercise his authority, alien as he is, over so many millions of his Christian subjects, there can be no question.

Although we may have censured the Servian for his want of industry and warlike propensities, we must attribute them to the natural result of a struggle for freedom which endured more than a quarter of a century, especially when we remember its glorious termination, their emancipation from Turkish thraldom, achieved by this gallant people single-handed, which would have been sufficient to turn the heads of even a more civilized people.

Perhaps there is not another instance on record of a people numbering less than a million, for so many years gallantly opposing a powerful empire, with all its vast resources and fanatic soldiery, especially when we remember that Servia does not present the same difficulties of access to an invading army as the neighbouring countries of Bosnia, Tchernegoria, Upper Moesia, and Albania, with their deep defiles and mountain passes, where a few hundred resolute men might dispute the march of an enemy. It is true there are impenetrable forests, well calculated to serve the purposes of defence, elevated plateaux as so many points of gathering, with

torrents and rivers such as the Morawa, the Drino, the Timok, and others of less note sufficiently wide to oppose a temporary check to the invader.

It is to be regretted, that the daring and almost fabulous deeds of these gallant Servians, related in the piesmas of their bards and poets, have not been chronicled by some pen worthy of recording them, lest time should sweep away the details of a contest in which the most unshaken constancy and courage triumphed over oppression and wrong. In truth, the Servian race, wherever we find them in these provinces, in Austria or Hungary, possess many eminent virtues; and that they contain the elements, from which may one day arise a great nation, no traveller will deny who has studied without partiality or prejudice the character of the people.

Let us compare the social state of the inhabitants of this free principality with that of those of Modern Greece, which acquired its independence about the same time, and we shall find the balance entirely in favour of the Slavonian race. The Greek, from his position on the sea-coast, which brings him into immediate communication with the manners, customs, industry and intelligence of the great civilized world, might be expected to have risen rapidly in the scale of social improvement, yet such is not the case; in the sea-ports he is familiar with the vices of the lower class of the maritime population of Italy; while the traveller, who may venture to visit the interior of the country, is nearly certain to be waylaid by an army of brigands. Again, the hand

of the predatory Greek is raised alike against friend and foe, while that of the Servian is only directed against his hereditary enemy the Turk, and then never unless in fair and open fight.

In Servia, the traveller may journey from frontier to frontier, without meeting with the slightest molestation, and if he should solicit the hospitality of the people, he may depend on meeting in the poorest hut with a kind reception; and however primitive may be their habits, however defective their knowledge of the great European world, they know how to appreciate and practise those important social virtues—truth and honesty.

Without wishing to depreciate the character of the Greek for bravery and constancy of purpose in his protracted and arduous struggle for independence, or partiality to exalt that of the Servian, we cannot overlook many facts in the contemporary history of the two people. For instance, while Greece, by the magic of its classic name, excited the sympathy of every Christian state, inspired the pen of the scholar and the poet, drew to her aid the sword of many a valiant adventurer, and opened the purse of the most penurious; the Christians of Servia, unknown to the great world even by name, were carrying on a contest even more sanguinary. While the Greek possessed the privilege, whether in defeat or danger, of being able to take refuge in the ships of some neutral power, these poor Servians had no other means of providing for their safety than by flying to the deep gorge, the mountain plateau, and the dark forest. Add to which, they

were continually thwarted by the intrigues of Austria and Russia, according as circumstances or interest prompted these powers to flatter the Ottoman Porte. Still Servian perseverance, and an indomitable bravery surmounted every difficulty; while, on the other hand, it is universally admitted that Greece never would have been free but for the battle of Navarino.

There is a wide difference observable in the administration of the two countries—Greece and Servia. In the one, we see recklessness and extravagance; in the other, foresight, prudence and economy. The Servian achieved his independence by his own valour and at his own cost; while one portion of the population were engaged in warfare, the other toiled for their subsistence, consequently the country is not yet burdened with a national debt. The Prince of Servia occupies a mere cottage as his palace, and administers the revenue of the country in such a manner, that it amply suffices for the necessary expenses of the state. Here there is no costly government, no pompous court, no sinecure; the civil and military *employés*, however moderate may be their salaries, are regularly paid, and perform their respective duties as good citizens, conscientiously and strictly, and which is everywhere visible to the traveller in the harmony and good feeling manifested by the people towards their rulers.

On the other hand, let us look at Greece: her population does not exceed that of Servia; happy would she be if her expenses did not. There we

find the luxuriant court, the sumptuous palace of the King, with its splendid array of lords and ladies of the bed-chamber, marshals, generals, aides-de-camp, and hosts of military officers on half pay, and civil *employés*, who have no more important duty to perform than to receive their quarter's salary, and add their names to lengthen the civil list. Then there is the state, the forms, the etiquette so natural to a Prince from a petty German court, but entirely misplaced here, where simplicity would be far more appropriate. Again, the administration of the laws, also imported from Germany, is most expensive and harassing to the people, and entails a long train of intriguing lawyers and briefless barristers. How is it possible then that Greece, with so many evils to contend against, can advance in prosperity? How can the government satisfy the demands of the foreign creditor, when all this extravagant state machinery must be supported?—a nest of drones which, nourished by the industry of the people, has the effect of driving them to tumultuous outbreaks, and too often highway robbery, and which might be endured in a great country, rich and prosperous; but here it is worse than useless, and until a radical change takes place there can be no hope for Greece.

It must be confessed those powers were most to blame who entirely lost sight of economy when they planned the institutions of the infant state, and placed at its head a Prince educated to regard ceremony and etiquette as virtues, and unfortunately also, not

only an alien in race, but professing a different religion —the Roman Catholic—from that of the people over whom he had been called to reign.

With respect to Servia, I can with truth affirm that the entire people are becoming more and more attached to the rule of their Sovereign Prince, Alexander, the son of Tzerni George, and that he deserves their affectionate regard, is evident from his active endeavours to ameliorate the laws of his predecessors, and to advance them in the path of civilization. Schools are established in the towns and villages, lyceums and gymnasiums in the capital, provided with talented and well-qualified professors. The constitution has also been remodelled, in compliance with the wishes of Austria, Russia and the Ottoman Porte, and the Courts of Justice simple and effective in their proceedings have been so modified as to accord with the habits and manners of the people.

The military department has undergone considerable changes since the advent of Prince Alexander to power. A small army, of a few thousand men, is kept up, and intended to serve as a nucleus for arming the people *en masse*, in case circumstances should render it necessary, when every able-bodied man, from the age of eighteen to fifty, is liable to military duty. If approved by the Minister of War, the governors of provinces and capitans of districts take the rank of commander when called out, and the pandours (*gens-d'armes*) that of non-commissioned officers. By this regulation, the Prince can summon to the field at a

moment's notice, an army of between sixty and seventy thousand men, and in times of peril, this force might be increased to a hundred and fifty thousand men, which may easily be credited when we remember the warlike habits of the people, and that every man is trained to the use of weapons from his infancy. An admirable expedient this to avoid the expenses of a large standing army, but would be ill adapted for our industrious countries of Western Europe, since the occasional military service could only tend to engender habits of idleness and dissipation; besides, when the mass of the people have arms in their hands, they are too apt to assume an attitude of menace, when stimulated by some real or fancied grievance, dangerous to the peace of the country and the stability of a government, add to which an army of citizen soldiers, however brave they might be, and devoted to their cause, never could contend with success against an army of veterans, military by profession.

The finance department is very inartificial in its arrangements; the taxes are collected without creating any discontent among the people, and without affecting the indigent, and at the same time with little or no expense to the state. Every Starachin, or elder of a tribe, is obliged to contribute, in the shape of a capitation tax, a hundred piastres, about a pound sterling, annually; this he collects among his own tribe, and is only demanded of those who can afford to pay it. The money is then paid into the hands of the Kapitan of the nahia, or district, who transmits it

to the Ispravnik, or governor of the department, and he transfers it to the bureau of the Minister of Finance. This, with a trifling custom-house duty, transit and excise, together with a trade tax, suffices to pay the tribute to the Porte, and to meet all the exigencies of the state.

In Turkey, the taxes are collected in the same manner. In this, as in various other instances, the Servians have preserved the usages established by the patriarchal government of their former masters; and where power is not abused by some rapacious Pacha, the people yield a ready and cheerful obedience. Hence, instead of renouncing all the ancient forms of their Oriental rulers, and establishing a government purely European, at once complicated and expensive—a *perfected administration*, as in Greece—these prudent people have had the wisdom to adopt what was worthy of imitation, and to reject what was faulty and tended to evil. Everything is conducted with simplicity and economy; the object required is sought by the most direct method, and without incurring unnecessary labour or expense, or maintaining a host of *employés*, to increase the patronage and influence of the government.

When we reflect upon the present condition of Servia, and its patriarchal inhabitants, strangers alike to the extremes of wealth and poverty, exempt from all the heart-burnings of an artificial state of society, without a temptation to commit crime, since all are certain of the means of existence; how happy might be their fate, if they were to abandon the delusive hope of winning

fresh laurels, fresh territories, from their hereditary foeman, the Turk! Let them assume the character of peaceable citizens, commence with earnest endeavours to develop the vast resources nature has lavished on their country, which only requires inhabitants, and the fostering care of an enlightened ruler, to become influential and important, and yield a large revenue. They are but little acquainted with the dangers and difficulties that in the present day threaten the tranquillity of so many of the powerful States in Western Europe—their superabundant population—millions of paupers—overwhelming debts, the effect of long and ruinous wars—the necessity of maintaining large standing armies, not to repel invasion, but to curb the rebellious movements of their own discontented subjects;—all these evils, with the dread of national bankruptcy and ruin constantly haunting them like a spectre, the goading necessity of finding expedients by which to avert the catastrophe, increase their revenue, and diminish the expenditure, the Servians are happily ignorant.

A benign Providence, ever mindful of His creatures, although His decrees may be sometimes inscrutable to our clouded vision, never created man without placing in his power the means of subsistence; and may not the high civilization—the extraordinary increase in the population of Western Europe, and its exemption for so many years from devastating war, be permitted by a higher Power, for the purpose of rearing and educating a race of men destined to spread civilization over the world; and what a beneficent, what a happy change,

has taken place in the relative position of the two great divisions of the Old World—of the East and the West! In former days, Europe had to contend against successive invasions of the savage hordes of Asia; she now is prepared to send forth, in return, a countless host, armed with no other weapons than civilization, enterprize and industry.

Having wandered over a great part of Asia Minor, and the European provinces of Turkey, we must be of opinion that no necessity exists for the crowded inhabitants of Western Europe to cross the seas and seek a home in the wilds of America and California, when a pilgrimage of a few weeks will bring them to countries affording all the advantages of new lands to the industrious settler. When the tide of emigration once begins to flow, which will take place sooner or later, the Powers of Europe must lend their aid to encourage, even though pecuniary sacrifices should be demanded, if they would stifle the hydra of insurrection, generated by the want of such employment as may obtain subsistence.

Nations, as well as individuals, as they increase in prosperity, find their wants and desires multiply; hence the advancement of any new State in the scale of civilization and commercial industry, accelerates the progress of its neighbours; an interchange of mutual productions must succeed; a thousand luxuries are required, by the wealthy tasking the ingenuity of the industrious classes to produce them, and employing thousands of inventive operatives in their manufacture. If, by any unforeseen accident, wealthy England, now confessedly at the head

of the industry and commerce of the world, were to sink into comparative indigence, the shock would be felt in every trading country throughout the globe, and retard the progress of nations for centuries.

Turkey, isolated in its own exclusiveness, and professing a creed at variance with that of the majority of its subjects, has remained to the present day a *terra incognitâ* to the rest of Europe; her vast resources have lain dormant, and destitute of any commercial activity, or, indeed, of any principle to give a progressive impetus to her people. Thus the finest countries in our hemisphere have gradually become depopulated; and, before we can expect to reap any great and increasing advantage from them, we must send a new people, endowed with intelligence, enterprize, and industry, in order to give life and vigour to the few remaining inhabitants; and this can be best achieved by bringing into operation some well-conceived system of emigration from among the intelligent denizens of Western Europe, whose rulers must be deeply interested in the result.

Are not these powers embarrassed by the immense disproportion between the amount of labour, and the demand for its productions? Will not this plan open a new path to the capital and industry of their subjects? Is it not, therefore, imperative upon them to direct their attention to these long-neglected countries, so fruitful in resources, and so necessary for giving an impetus to the trade and industry in their own dominions? They should commence by enforcing a system of government, in accordance with the spirit of the age,

and at once erect those beautiful provinces of European Turkey, containing so many millions of their Christian brethren, into a Christian monarchy, under the rule of the Sultan.

A treaty should be concluded with the Ottoman Porte, providing for the reception of their respective colonies; and what emigrant, when an equitable form of government was established, would not prefer seeking a home in countries lying within a few weeks journey from his native land, to expatriating himself beyond the seas, separated for ever from his kindred? and such countries, where the orange and the lemon, the vine and the fig, the cotton and the maize, with every species of grain and plant, peculiar to the most favoured clime, arrive to the highest perfection.

In Servia, we already see a decided improvement in the habits and manners of that portion of the inhabitants located on the banks of the Danube, unquestionably the effect of steam navigation; and this advance in their social condition must continue, now that the enterprize of the West is rapidly bringing the lights of art and science to the benighted East. Let some modern Cadmus, who would immortalize his name, who has the means, the energy and the intellectual capacity, place himself at the head of this emigration movement, and ere a brief space elapses, we shall see the swine-herd of to-day transform his hut into the stately edifice; for is he not the lord of a thousand acres, and will not their produce be a mine of inexhaustible wealth? and may not magnificent towns succeed the straggling

village, the lowly hamlet, and instead of the shepherd ranging the mountains and the forest from early dawn to dewy eve, millions of civilized men will be engaged in the varied occupations of active life, when the Danube and the Save, and the Morava, and other navigable streams, will bear on their limpid waters innumerable steam-boats, laden with the commerce of the world.

If the Anglo-Saxon of a New World projects his rail, and extends it to thousands of miles, we of the Old World must consider ourselves fallen into the decrepitude of age, if we cannot extend the ramifications of our rail beyond the confines of Europe. Nay, we cannot suppose that the enterprizing capitalists of Western Europe will pause, till they have abridged the distance from their own capitals to Constantinople and Teheran, ay, even beyond the Indus to Calcutta to within a few weeks tour.

What a perspective of wealth does not this picture open to the trade and industry of the Old World? What a change must then take place in the deserted countries of Asia? Then these valleys, rich with the waving corn, will smile in glad fertility, their hills be crowned with vineyards, their mountains with flocks and herds, their rivers be rendered navigable, and their vast marshes converted into fruitful meadows. When every man is engaged in trade or commerce, the general interest being at stake, must render war an event nearly impossible; the labourer also being amply requited for his industry, will have no cause to plot sedition, we shall

then see realized such an equality between man and man, as the visionary theorist never will accomplish, and a universal peace spread over the earth, which the glowing oratory of well-meaning enthusiasts will never be able to effect.

On leaving Alexinitz, my kind hosts, Mr. Gutch and Mr. Davies, accompanied me for several miles on my route, both capitally mounted, and appeared to great advantage, with English saddles and bridles. Mr. Davies exhibited a most imposing exterior to the astonished Servians; his costume being the English hunting dresss—carlet jacket, top-boots and cap; profound indeed was the respect they exhibited to a Frank so habited, concluding him, no doubt, to be in his own country at least a Pacha with three tails, as they bowed to the earth when we passed.

My friends amused themselves at the expense of Georgy and myself, maliciously wishing us transported to Hyde Park, or Regent Street, in our present dress, not forgetting to picture the wonder and laughter our travelling apparatus would excite.

In compliance with the advice of Georgy, who acted not only as my kiraidji, but in these matters as my preceptor, I had added an additional number of little bags with provender, especially dried fruits, and filled my leathern bottles with a fresh supply of wine and raki; as Georgy exerted all his eloquence to convince me that, as we were now about to enter the country of the infidels, we ran a fair chance of being either starved or murdered. To guard against the latter most unde-

sirable contingency, I placed an additional pair of large Turkish pistols in the holsters of my saddle; these, with my sabre, a formidable hanjiar, my English pistols stuck in my girdle, and my long gun slung across my shoulder, sufficed to prove to any Arnout desperado, or marauding Haiduc, we might chance to meet on the Sultan's pathways and byways, that the English Frank was not a man to be robbed or maltreated with impunity.

CHAPTER VII.

Departure from Alexinitz—Description of a Turkish guardhouse —Rencounter with the recruits of the Nizam—Embarrassments of a traveller in Turkey—Advantages of being a linguist—Frank Bimbashi—His romantic history—Arrival at Nissa—The great antiquity of that town—Mosques at Nissa—Their administration—Turks and Rayahs.

We had a pleasant ride over a beautiful country abounding in tiny glades and ravines sufficiently elevated to render it picturesque and romantic. At Drugevatz, with sincere regret, I bade adieu to my two friends, and crossing a small river of the same name, behold I was within the Turkish frontier.

The first object that presented itself, was one of those singular buildings called a karaoul, a species of guardhouse occupied by the Kavaas (gens-d'armes). These karaouls have been erected during the last few years, in the vicinity of the most dangerous passes, for the protection of property and merchandize. They are either temporary buildings, composed merely of a few poles stuck in the ground, and covered with the

branches and leaves of trees, wooden huts, or substantial buildings of wood, one story high, and surrounded by a gallery, which serves as a watch-tower: they are usually reared on some eminence overlooking the surrounding country. In Albania, Bosnia and Upper Macedonia, where the people so frequently break out into open rebellion, we find them constructed of stone-work, strong; and capable of sustaining a lengthened attack; their power of enduring a siege cannot be wondered at, when we remember the train of artillery employed against them is nothing more formidable than the musket. The lower story of these karaouls contains a dungeon for prisoners, and the only mode of entrance is by ascending a ladder, which is drawn up when an attack is anticipated, and being always sufficiently provided with provisions, admirably fulfil the purpose for which they are intended; still a single discharge of a piece of artillery would be sufficient to blow the strongest of them to the four winds of heaven.

In those wild districts, which are situated far from a town or village, they are extremely useful to the traveller as a resting-place, by day or night, and where he can at all times procure a good cup of coffee, and a tchibouque for a few paras.

My kiraidji, since he had crossed the Turkish border, and was now fairly thrown among the infidels, had become a changed man; there was no longer that swaggering and boasting air about him, in short, he appeared to have dwindled to half his usual size; but it

would be difficult to paint his astonishment and vexation when he saw his own gospodin, a Christian of Frangistan, jump from his horse and salute a fine old Arnout, who, in the perfection of tranquillity, was smoking his tchibouque on a mat opposite the door, and solicit a cup of coffee, and the pleasure of smoking a tchibouque with him.

My wish was granted, with that ready, I may say spontaneous, hospitality which characterizes this people; for a Mussulman, of whatever class, is ever highly gratified by the society of a Frank, who, throwing aside reserve, will humour him by relating the latest news from the great world of Frangistan. This was an auspicious commencement of my journey in the land of the Crescent. I passed half an hour with the old warrior who, in his younger days, belonged to the corps of Janissaries, and one of the few that escaped the general massacre. On parting, he saluted me most warmly with a salam aliekoum, not usually addressed to a Giaour, and absolutely forbid his men to receive any recompense for the trouble I had given.

On emerging from a ravine, we found we had overtaken a strong detachment of Turkish infantry, of about five hundred men, conducting with them nearly the same number of peasants. It appeared that they were on their way to Sofia, in Bulgaria, from a foray made on the unhappy Mussulman inhabitants of Bosnia, for the purpose of forcibly obtaining recruits to serve in the Nizam y Djedid. The recruiting party did not seem to have made any distinction, either as to age

or rank; the youth who had scarcely seen fifteen summers marched by the side of him over whom forty or fifty had passed; some were clad in the coarse woollen garments and sandals of the peasant, others in the braided crimson jacket and gay shalwar of the better classes. The refractory were tied together with ropes, like wild animals; and those who, in consequence of wounds or fatigue, had been allowed to ride, were tied on the backs of horses, to prevent their escape; the poor rayahs in silent discontent following their horses, which had been so summarily pressed into the service of the Sultan; the whole forming a melancholy exhibition of the tyrannical manner in which the recruiting system is conducted in Turkey, and showing how unpopular military service, *à l'Européenne*, must be with the people.

Georgy glanced hastily at his own well-fed, sleek konies (horses); and no doubt aware, from bitter experience, what might be their fate, quickly seized the rein of my horse, and made an attempt to retreat into the ravine behind us; but an eye, quicker than his, saw the movement, and divined the cause; when instantly, a moulasin (an ensign), with half-a-dozen ruffianly-looking soldiers, shot out from the ranks, and with a fierce roar, and their guns levelled at our heads, brought the stout Servian and his gospodin to a stand-still.

A peremptory demand, made in the name of the Sultan, for the use of our horses, led to a violent altercation between the officer and Georgy, whose indignant

declaration that he was a free Servian, and not a subject of the Sultan, only made things worse, and led to the repeated scoffs of the Philistines. He was called the son of a swine-eating, idolatrous Giaour! the dog of dogs, of a Servian pesevingk! In vain Georgy reiterated the high rank of his Frank gospodin—an Ingleski Knez (brother to the King of England!)—it availed nothing; if he were the Padishah of all Frangistan, he is but as the dust of the earth, when the padishah of all padishahs commands!

During this torrent of abuse, I sat in my saddle, maliciously enjoying the scene before me, especially when I saw the expression of fear and woe pictured in the ruddy countenance of my poor kiraidji, as he slowly and reluctantly dismounted, to save his head from being broken. It was now my turn to obey the mandate of the saucy Turk; but knowing I carried in my pocket that to which every Mussulman must yield implicit obedience—an Imperial firman—I demanded, in an authoritative tone of voice, to be conducted to the commanding officer.

The crowd gave way, and behold me *vis-à-vis* to a tall, handsome, military-looking, middle-aged man; his high, expansive forehead, bright blue eye, fair complexion, and a peculiar stamp of intellectuality in his features, convinced me he was of a Northern race. He was attired in the undress of a Turkish officer, and wore on his breast the badge which distinguishes a bimbashi—a Crescent and star set in brilliants. He received me with the solemn dignity of a well-bred Osmanli; and

seeing I was a Frank, courteously addressed me in the French language.

To a man who has mingled much with the German people, it was no difficult matter to detect, by the accent of our Mussulman bimbashi, that I beheld a son of the *Deutschen Fatherland,* and I immediately changed our conversation from French into the rich expressive language of his native country. The sound of the tongue in which he had lisped the accents of infancy proved a severe trial to the self-possession of the man, who had made his home for so many years in a stranger's land, his eyes filled almost to overflowing, and grasping my hand, he remained for some moments speechless; with a violent effort, he regained his composure, and issued the command for his troops to bivouac, at the same time insisting that I should dine with him in his tent. He had lately returned from Syria, and favoured me with many interesting particulars of his early life, and the circumstances which led him to take service in the Turkish army.

It appeared, while a mere youth in 1830, he had been compromised in some political movement that took place in Northern Germany, which obliged him to seek a refuge in the Slavonian provinces of Hungary on the Lower Danube. Here he endured every privation, nearly starved, suspected, hunted from place to place by the espionage of the police, his life forfeited, should he be taken. Thus desperate and reckless of the future, he crossed the Danube into Turkey, became a Mussulman, and a soldier in the Turkish army.

He had, no doubt, displayed great bravery and considerable military talent, for he had been elevated to the rank of bimbashi. Having chosen his path in life, retreat was no longer in his power, yet he bitterly repented the step he had taken, which had rendered existence a blank. He held no communication with his family, who he was determined should never know they had a renegade for a kinsman; he had remained unmarried, for he would leave no inheritor of a name which he said always sounded in his ear as the knell of happiness; he never attempted to amass wealth, but expended his ample revenue in acts of charity, and assisting any of his poor countrymen chance threw in his way, for his heart was still thoroughly German.

How deeply I commiserated the fate of this noble-minded German, whom neither rank, nor wealth, nor power could reconcile to his position—obliged to conform to the tenets of a creed he despised, living among a people of whose intelligence he was centuries in advance, too frequently obliged to perform duties adverse to his feelings and opinions, fame, honour, distinction, all that can animate man, existed not for him; with no beloved hand to smooth his pillow, no kindred eye to shed the tear of love over his bed of sickness, he only looked forward to an honourable death, and to lie in the land of the stranger.

To me he rendered every courtesy which kindness could suggest, and I parted reluctantly from a man, who both in mind and feeling deserved a better fate.

Georgy's astonishment at the talent of his gospodin,

in arranging disputes when they appeared most threatening, was not greater than the unbounded satisfaction he experienced as we galloped rapidly away from the Crescent and the Stars.

We were now riding over an elevated steppe-like plain, extending far and wide; instead of the splendid forests of Servia, we saw nothing but stunted brushwood; the only variety afforded to our dreary ride was now and then a Bulgarian village, composed of a few huts with little patches of cultivated land. At length, we caught a distant view of Nissa, with its gilded cupolas and minarets glittering in the sun, like a fairy city in the midst of a wilderness, over which rose the high chain of the Balkan, its highest peaks, the Stara Planina and the Jaskevatz, still covered with snow.

Our first welcome to Nissa was from a colony of half-naked gipsies encamped under the walls of the fortress, who beset us with the most noisy importunities. These were the first beggars I had seen since I left the regions of wealth and luxury. We entered the city with just sufficient daylight to grope our way through its deserted streets, Georgy conducting me to rather a respectable han, kept by one of his countrymen from Belgrade. Fortunately I had made an ample repast at our military bivouac on the plains of Nissa, for these fasts of the Greek Church appear like eternity, to have neither end nor beginning, and while they last, nothing can be procured but that unsavoury composition, the polluto—stewed beans, red cabbage, or a mess of mamolinga; and these schismatics will not endanger

the peace of their souls by allowing any portion of the forbidden food to be cooked on their premises. I was therefore obliged to sup on bread and coffee, and to console myself for the want of better cheer by having recourse to the tchibouque. Our good hanji, however, provided me with a plentiful supply of clean straw, when, resigning myself to the arms of Morpheus, I dreamed of home and old England.

Nissa, the Naissus of antiquity, is said to be one of the oldest towns in European Turkey; if we are to give any credence to the piesmas of the Rasci, a powerful tribe of the Illyrian-Slavons, still occupying the mountain passes and defiles of Upper Moesia, we must believe that they founded Naissus, which takes its name from a river running through the town, the Naischava, and that it was rich and populous long before the arrival of Cadmus in Greece.

The Greeks say that Philip of Macedon drove out the Rasci, planted here a colony of his people, and embellished the town with strong forts, towers, palaces and public buildings. The Romans have their own version of its history; they assert that Constantine the Great was born here, and that to his taste and munificence, Naissus was indebted for triumphal arches, amphitheatres, and various other great and public works, which that people employed themselves in constructing, and if not so graceful as those of the immortal Greek, they had at least the advantage of durability, appearing as if built to defy the influence of time.

Now, though we do not wish to call into question the

veracity of so many grave historians, nor impugn the truth of tradition, we defy the researches of the most industrious antiquarian to point out, with the exception of the fortress, the slightest vestige of palace, amphitheatre, triumphal arch, or indeed any public building, either of the Rasci, the Greek, the Roman, or the Byzantin, in Naissus.

If we had arrived here ignorant of the chronicles of antiquity, we should have recorded that in days of yore, a colony of Ishmaelites having wandered here from the plains of Asia, with their flocks and herds, and finding a fertile valley, well watered with the Morava, the Naischava, and the Koutinska-Rieka, pitched their tents. The land proving inexhaustible in its resources, wooden huts succeeded to the tents, and the first settlers made it their permanent residence, until they were forced to submit to the horde of Othman.

This migratory horde differing in nothing from their predecessors, continued to occupy the same huts. If one of their primitive buildings happened to fall a prey to fire, or if the timber became rotten, and the hut was found to be crumbling to ruin, each separate plank, post, and joist was replaced by a *fac-simile* of the one that preceded it; nothing was changed in the form of construction. Therefore, any traveller, or antiquarian, who may be desirous of studying the architecture of the first patriarchs of the world—their earliest attempts in the art of building, after abandoning the primitive tent, has only to journey to Nissa and his curiosity may be gratified.

It must, however, be admitted that the horde of Othmans, the latest importation from Asia, having during their migratory wanderings gleaned some knowledge of the art of constructing the djami (mosque) from their co-religionists, their attention was immediately directed towards the religious edifices of their newly-acquired territory. Wherever practicable, a dome was added to the rude unsightly temples of their Giaour subjects, and always a lofty minaret, so necessary for the muezzin, that he may be heard far and wide when he calls the faithful to prayer. These form a very pretty feature in the landscape, and serve to impart some variety to the appearance of a Turkish town.

The piety and munificence of former powerful princes of the line of Othman having amply endowed the mosques with landed estates, there is no want of funds to keep them in repair, and provide for the maintenance of all those connected with them, whether ecclesiastics, lawyers, or sacristans.

The immense estates, donations or otherwise, whence these funds are derived, are independent of the control of the sovereign, and exempt from paying any tax to the state. Again, the believers in Islamism are not expected to contribute to the maintenance of their clergy, by which means no clashing interests or disputes arise to create an ill feeling between the two classes; the same sage laws that secured to the clergy their revenues, also compel them to preserve the mosque in good order; consequently, it is ever an object of great

care and attention. Many of these clerical estates have in a manner become the property of private individuals, and descend from father to son. The patrimony of the Church is not, however, diverted from its original purpose, as some member of the family having studied Mahometan theology and the law, and passed an examination, is recommended to the vacant office by the Nazivi (inspector-general), and receives the appointment from the Scheick-Islam or Moufti, who is at once the head both of the church and law.

If the Sultan, either from rapacity, or poverty, should imitate our eighth Harry, and become the spoliator of the Church (and its immense riches offer a strong temptation), we must come to the conclusion, that such is the apathetic indolence into which the descendants of Othman have sunk, that the mosque, like the fortress, and every other public building in Turkey, would become, in process of time, a crumbling ruin.

To show how amply the Mussulman population are furnished with religious edifices, in Nissa alone there are eleven mosques, and yet out of a population of between ten or twelve thousand, scarcely one-fifth are Mahometans, and even this must be considered a large proportion, as Nissa is the seat of a Pacha, where all the machinery of an extensive pachalik is carried on, and is, therefore, necessarily the residence of a numerous body of Turkish officials. In many of the other towns, not the residence of a Pacha, or military governor, it would be difficult to count a hundred Mussulmans. Still, in every town, whether inhabited by Rayah-Slavon or Rayah-

Greek, there is the mosque, which, when once endowed, must remain, however few may be the number of worshippers, for no law relating to the Mahometan Church, when it has once passed, can, according to the Koran, be changed; hence a traveller from Western Europe, who sees the numerous well-kept temples of Mahometan worship, will naturally conclude that the children of the Crescent are a large body in these provinces, and remarkable for their piety. He will be confirmed in his erroneous opinion, should he seek for the churches of the Rayahs; for instance, in Nissa, there are only two, although the Christian population amounts to nearly ten thousand; and in many towns, they are obliged to appropriate a room, in some private dwelling-house, to the service of God.

CHAPTER VIII.

Description of Nissa—Some account of its inhabitants—Characteristics of the Turks and the Rayahs—Nissa as a military position—Its fortifications and fortress—Visit to the castle of human skulls—Sketch of the Bulgarian insurrection of 1841.

THIS long digression may lead the reader to suppose that we had forgotten old Nissa, we will now proceed to give a description of its aspect in the present day; but as we do not wish to fatigue the reader, we must say, that Nissa is the *fac-simile* of nearly every other town in European Turkey; indeed, so great is the family likeness between them, that, to avoid repetition, we intend to be economical in our pictures, and make one representation serve for all.

Nearly every town, the seat of a Pacha, or Military Governor, we find divided into three compartments, the Kalea, the Chehir, and the Palankin, which are more generally known, in this part of Turkey, by the Slavonian names of Grad, Varosh, and Palankin.

The first, isolated and fortified, is almost invariably situated on the summit of some rock, or eminence; it is

the seat of the Pacha, the Military Governor, and the barracks of the military, the residence of all the *employés*, ecclesiastical, civil and military, the court of justice, and here may also be seen the splendid mosque, with its glittering dome and minarets, shining in the sun like burnished silver.

The Varosh, or low town, is inhabited by the merchants and artizans; it is surrounded by a deep ditch and palisades, with gates, which are carefully closed at night; along the centre of the street runs a deep gutter, none of the cleanest, and the houses on each side, for so we will call them by courtesy, have the appearance of temporary huts belonging to a colony of Nomades, so little is there of art or solidity in their construction. To the outside of each house, attached by strong hinges, is a broad wooden shutter, which serves, when let down at night, to protect the house from pilferers, and by day, when supported by long poles, for a verandah. If the house is a shop, under this is placed a platform, about two feet high, appropriated partly to the display of such tempting wares as the shopkeeper may have to sell, and partly to the purposes of a divan, on which, whether Greek, Armenian, Slavon, Turk or Jew, he reclines in all the dignity of Oriental laziness, enjoying the fragrant tchibouque, or the gurgling narghile, grave as a judge, and apparently indifferent whether he sells or not.

On entering one of these houses, we pass through what is in reality the shop, which leads to a square court-yard, where we find the *ménage*, the harem, and

all the appendages of an Oriental house. If the family or tribe is numerous, and the occupiers wealthy, there may be an upper story surrounded by a verandah, and not unfrequently we see a murmuring fountain bubbling in the centre of the court-yard.

In the shops we usually find tobacco of every description and price, and different sorts of confectionary in glass vessels; tchibouques and narghiles of all shapes and sizes, fruit, vegetables, salt, weapons, saddles, saddle-bags, new and second-hand clothes, &c. Intermingled with the shops are coffee-houses and restaurants, filled with the gay and idle, eating, drinking, smoking, or playing chess in an atmosphere dense from the tobacco smoke as a London fog in November.

Every trade is carried on in the open shop, armourers and tinkers, saddlers and tchibouque makers, shoemakers and tailors, bakers and cooks, the whole art and process exposed to the observation of the lounger. The covered bazaar always included in the Varosh, is the receptacle of merchandize of a more costly description; here are the rich silks, velvets and satins from the looms of Broussa; the calicoes of Manchester, manufactured at Vienna! the toys and *bijouterie* of Paris, also fabricated at Vienna! beautiful carpets and splendid embroidery, all arranged to attract the attention of a customer. This is generally the promenade of the officers of the Nizam, the civil *employé*, with a host of Osmanli, Armenian, Greek and Jew merchants, in their loose flowing robes and many-coloured turbans,

with here and there a dame enveloped in her yashmak, whether houri or fury, who shall say, gliding silently along like a being of another world.

The Palankin, which may be termed the faubourg, is also enclosed by a palisade, usually formed of the trunks of trees, driven into the ground, and bound together. Here is the home of the poorer class of Rayahs; like the other class, they have also their hans, their coffee-houses and restaurants, where the traveller may find amusement in seeing every trade and calling carried on by the inhabitants. A large space of ground usually encircles the towns, devoted exclusively to the burial of the dead, termed by this poetic people, the City of their Ancestors. In addition to its use as a cemetery, it serves as a place for the encampment of some tribe of nomades, generally gipsies; here also we see the carcases of dead animals left for food to support the vulture, and the hordes of half-wild dogs that everywhere roam in these provinces without a home or owner; it is also used as a place for the execution of criminals.

Towns constructed in the manner we have described, cannot, of course, be healthy; enclosed within walls, surrounded with embankments, they are contracted into the smallest possible space, hence the streets are narrow and badly ventilated; and when we remember the entire absence of sewers, the filth accumulating in the streets, where every disgusting offal is thrown, the dog and the vulture being the only scavenger, the frequent mortality of the inhabitants must be regarded

as a natural result. They are never free from fever; and when an epidemic finds its way into one of these hot-beds of disease, the loss of life is awful, especially among a people too often weakened and emaciated by sensual indulgences.

The fountains, erected by some pious Mussulman to increase the health and comfort of his fellow-men, unhappily prove the means of generating disease and death, the stream of water running from them through streets badly paved and full of holes, finds a resting place, grows stagnant, and during the heat of summer exhales mephitic vapours, as fatal to the inhabitant as the plague. Poor, simple people, they become wan and ill without dreaming of the cause; if you point out this and the remedy, the reply will be probably a vacant stare; and if they do answer, you will be told it is not their business to make a sewer, and what is not their business is nobody's business, consequently the evil is perpetuated.

The covered bazaar, though well adapted for the sale of merchandize, yet from the want of ventilation and the negligent habits of the people, becomes also the nest of disease. In vain the rich Mussulman, the wealthy Jew, and Rayah merchant have recourse to the bath, and frequent ablutions, in vain they surround themselves with all the luxuries of life—the soft, rich carpet, velvet hangings and downy pillow; the destroyer is still at the door, and finds an entrance; the features become pallid; loss of appetite soon follows. If they escape the heat of summer, the cold, bracing air of

winter again renovates them, and enables them to contend another campaign with their insidious enemy. A robust nature may for a time ward off the blow; but eventually the constitution gives way, long before the usual time allotted to frail mortality.

Suffering from heat during a long summer's day, the Osmanli, after swallowing successive goblets of sherbet and repeated cups of coffee, has recourse to the tchibouque to dissipate the langour of idleness; and having no occupation to impart vigour to his debilitated frame, as the sun declines in the west, he musters sufficient courage and resolution to rise from his carpet, and by way of exercise slowly waddles to what he is pleased to term the "City of his Ancestors." Here he gravely contemplates the stone turbans, moralizes on the shortness of human life, inhales a sufficient quantity of the deadly gas around him, heaves a sigh to the mutability of human greatness, and waddles home again exhausted by fatigue, when he wearies the patience of all the women in his harem to devise remedies for the headache his long promenade has produced.

In a country so pregnant with danger, so exposed to the occasional incursions of roving bands of predatory Haidues or Arnouts, the wealthy Osmanli naturally seeks a fortified town as his place of residence, however unfavourable to health; but that the climate is not insalubrious may be inferred from the fact, that the Rayah who makes his home in the villages, occupying himself with the healthful employments of husbandry, lives to a great age; even the Palankin inhabited by this class, which it

has not been thought necessary to fortify, though miserable and deficient in every arrangement that can contribute to health, are in a great measure exempt from the maladies that prove so fatal to the Mussulmen. This is owing to the large space of ground they are built upon, and the free circulation of air; to which may be added that, having no other resource to maintain themselves and their families, the Rayahs are obliged to occupy themselves with some laborious employment, which tends to impart strength and vigour to the frame.

We may admire the primitive habits of the people, their patriarchal customs, their simple virtues, their hospitality; but we cannot shut our eyes to the fact that they are sadly deficient, whether lordly Mussulman or degraded Rayah, in those elements of a great people—energy and enterprize, so necessary to their speedy regeneration. The Anglo-Saxon, accustomed to the vigour and activity displayed at home in every department of life, is forcibly struck, when in everything around him, even in the administration of public affairs, he sees an indolence and an inaptitude indicative of a people fallen into the decrepitude of age.

Centuries of misrule may have brutalized the nature, and crushed the energies of the people; but after making allowances for all this, we must come to the conclusion, that they want not only wholesome laws, but some portion of the enterprizing spirit—the directing mind of Western Europe. The entire absence of anything like improvement is visible in all their build-

ings, whether of the government or the people: the palace of a Pacha is built of wood; should a stone bridge be carried away by the torrent, it is replaced, if at all, by one of wood; and if a city or town be destroyed by fire, the forest is resorted to for materials to re-construct it. Dilapidated fortresses, crumbling towers, and decaying towns, with their emaciated inhabitants, are unhappily the most striking features noticed by the traveller who wanders over these provinces.

If you express your surprise at this to a Slavon Rayah, or a Greek Rayah, however wealthy and intelligent, he will tell you that a fine house and a costly exterior excites the cupidity of his greedy tyrant, the Turk; if to the Osmanli grandee, after many a "Mash-allah!" he will reply: "Why spend our money in improvements and public buildings to enrich an unbelieving Giaour? Both are superstitious, both fatalists —Christian and Mussulman—firmly believing that the day is not far distant, when the one must be transferred to the rule of a Christian Sovereign, and the other retreat into Asia.

But to return to Nissa. The River Nischava, one of the numerous tributaries of the majestic Morava, divides the town from the fortress; it is crossed by an old covered wooden bridge, so much out of repair, that the passenger apprehends it may give way, and compel him to take a bath against his inclination. After crossing the bridge, you behold a chaos of ruins, broken walls, shattered towers, with here and there a cluster of wooden huts, forming a street or two. Rising above this, is the pretty wooden kiosk of

the Pacha, with its wings appropriated as the residence of the officers of his household, and the military. In front of this is a glacis, here and there broken up with fragments of the walls and towers, which once having fallen, are left, as it were, a memorial of the last siege it sustained.

However dilapidated in appearance Nissa may be, it possesses sufficient strength to arrest the march of an enemy unprovided with artillery, and might endure a siege from a rebellious peasantry.

English, French and German writers have asserted that the mind of Russia cannot produce a single mathematician of pure Slavon-Tatar descent, which we believe to be most erroneous, and only applicable to the Russian in the earlier stages of his intellectual development. The same might be said of the Osmanli, if we did not know that the mind of an illiterate man is incomprehensive, and cannot grasp with facility the ideas and conceptions of an intellect whose reasoning powers have been matured by education and practical knowledge. For instance, if you converse with any one of them on the art of fortification or engineering as a science; how to trace your parallels; trenches to approach and besiege a citadel; where to place a redoubt, plant your cannon and sweep a pass, &c.; he is lost in wonder, regarding you as a Frank Delhi, mad with too much learning. In the thickness of the walls, the number of the troops, the abundant supply of provisions, he sees defence and safety; beyond these his ideas in the art of military defences rarely travel. This is the more remarkable

when we remember the success of the Osmanli in the art of fortification, and the ingenuity they displayed in the early wars with the Christians.

We have already said that Nissa is situated on a plain, watered by the rapid Nischava, and encircled by an earthen embankment with palisades, gates, and here and there, a gabion for the reception of cannon, but the Kalea, which contains the citadel, where we now are, is constructed of much stronger materials, and might be rendered formidable by some additions and the necessary repairs. A rampart of strong masonry-work surrounds the whole, with its elevated octagon and hexagon bastions; the walls are still in tolerable repair, as are also the gabions and the pavilions of the sentinels.

Although the citadel, with its fortifications, may be defective in its construction according to the modern system of military engineering, the greatest danger it has to apprehend is from an enemy obtaining possession of a few eminences, of no great height, to the south-east, this could easily be provided against, by elevating that part of the ramparts threatened by attack, so as to drive the enemy from their position. Above all, the Turkish authorities should remember, that it is not only necessary to build fortresses, but to keep them in repair.

It is not the fortress that renders Nissa interesting to the traveller, so much as its military position, which is of the last importance to the Ottoman Porte, commanding as it does the only passes that lead into

Bosnia, Bulgaria, Upper Moesia and Servia. In this respect, the principality of Servia is very unfortunate in its frontier, so open to invasion from the Turks, and whence they so often carried death and destruction into the country. The Ottoman Porte, however, should remember that Servia is now independent, and that there is a high road for the transportation of cannon, leading from the Danube into the very heart of the country, and that Servia, granting she may be well inclined, has not the power to arrest, or dispute the march of a powerful army.

Among the various disasters the fall of Nissa must entail on the Ottoman Porte, none would be attended with more pernicious consequences than the military occupation of Upper Moesia, unquestionably the strongest position in European Turkey; the home of the fierce Haiduc, and inhabited by Christian tribes of the same warlike race as the Servians, and who would be certain to hail with enthusiasm any invader who would guarantee to them a speedy emancipation from Turkish rule. This would complete the connecting link of the chain that unites the free Servians, on the Danube, with their free brethren, the Servians of Tchernegoria, on the Adriatic. To accomplish this, Nissa was repeatedly stormed, for this, Tzerni George performed prodigies of valour; when, having failed reducing Nissa, he ascended the heights of Upper Moesia, called the Rayahs to arms, besieged the capital of the district, Novibazar, and were it not for the want of artillery, the bravery of the Arnouts,

and Bosnians, the timely invasion of Servia, by the Pacha of Nissa—which obliged the hero to return and defend his country, he must have succeeded.

Had Tzerni George prospered in his attempt to effect a union of Servia and Tchernegoria with Upper Moesia, the result would be, that Bosnia and Herzegowina would be entirely shut out from any communication with the rest of Turkey, and the Ottoman Porte deprived of the service of some of its most valiant Pachas and Spahis, who, seeing themselves isolated, must either declare themselves independent, or join the invader. Again, Upper Moesia, which may be compared to a vast citadel, offers every facility to an army to descend on Macedonia, and combining with the Greek nationality there and in Thessaly, also isolate the Mussulmen of Albania from any connexion with the government of the Sultan, except by sea.

What Tzerni George was unable to accomplish with his inefficient means, some other chief, possessed of his enterprise and military talents, with greater resources at his command, can scarcely fail to accomplish. It must, therefore, be evident how indispensable it is for the Turkish Government to place Nissa, the key of these provinces, in an efficient state of defence, even the occupation of the strong fortress of Schoumla is not of greater importance to the rule of the Sultan, in these provinces, than the military possession of Nissa.

During my sojourn at Nissa, I made a tour to Tatar, a village in the environs, where I was most disagreeably surprized at beholding the famous Turkish castle,

formed of human skulls (embedded in the mortar)—those of the Servians, who fell in battle during the war of independence. It appears that this revolting edifice has been erected to act as a warning to the Rayahs of Bulgaria, Bosnia and Upper Moesia, of the fate that awaits them should they attempt to follow the example of their brethren in Servia.

However ghastly an object a castle formed of human skulls may be to a traveller from the West, it seems here to have had little effect in inspiring the discontented Rayahs of these provinces with a dread of their Osmanli ruler, since only a few years ago they rose *en masse*, massacred the Nizam, sacked the town of Nissa, and kept the late Pacha Mustapha closely blockaded for weeks in his citadel.

This formidable insurrection had its origin in the abduction of a beautiful Christian girl, a Rascian, or, as some say, a fair Bulgarian, which threatened the utter subversion of Turkish rule in these important provinces.

In the year 1841, one of the beautiful Rayah peasant girls, so frequently found in these provinces, attracted the attention of the nephew, and adopted son, of Mustapha, Pacha of Nissa. After many ineffectual endeavours, through means of his agents, to seduce the poor girl, with the assistance of his guards, he surprized her at a Colo, in the midst of her friends, while dancing with her betrothed. The peasants, infuriated with raki, and the excitement of the dance, rushed forward to rescue the screaming girl from the hands of the

ravisher, but they were unarmed, and in spite of all their efforts, saw the innocent victim carried away in triumph; during the contest, several of the peasants were severely wounded—and one noble fellow, who displayed great strength and determination, was shot dead.

The wretched lover, inconsolable at the loss of his Agapia, for such was the name of the girl, flew to the mountains, and laid his griefs before an assembly of the Haiducs. The recital of the atrocious deed excited the indignation it deserved; better would it have been had the Pacha's son rode rough-shod over the land, and squeezed the last para from the unresisting Rayah, than to have so publicly dishonoured a maiden of their race.

These very primitive people, whether haiduc, shepherd or agriculturist, however rude they may be in their manners, and disposed to assign to woman as her place in society that of a mere domestic drudge, yet never fail to exhibit in their manner and conduct towards her a profound respect, not inferior to any that she receives, even from the most polished nations. "She is," they say, "the mother; the guardian of infancy; the preserver of man during his helplessness; without her watchful care, the whole race would become extinct." Hence to strike her would here be regarded as sacrilege.

During their most terrific combats, when every angry passion is excited to its utmost fury, let but a woman interpose, and instantly every weapon is lowered; with such a chivalrous devotion, we cannot feel surprised

that the recital of the lover's wrongs, the forcible abduction of the unhappy Agapia, called forth a burst of the most violent indignation, and that the mountaineers swore, by their patron, St. George, to rescue the maiden, even if they were to carry their arms into the seraglio of the Padishah himself.

"Haiduc to the mountains!" resounded from the heights of Tchernegoria, through Upper Moesia, and thence through the whole range of the Balkan, on to Varna, on the Black Sea. Thus the abduction of the fair Agapia threatened to be as disastrous to the Osmanli, as the rape of Helen to the Trojans.

The hopes of the insurgents were also encouraged by the demoralized state of the Ottoman Empire at this time, arising from the Mussulman insurrection in Bosnia and Albania, which originated in the determination of that fanatic people to resist the introduction of the Nizam, and the other reforms of the Sultan.

The Greek Heteria, to which we have already alluded, now in the zenith of its power, also fanned the flame of the intense excitement manifested by their co-religionists, the Slavon-Rayahs. The inferior Papas and Didiskali of the towns and villages were admitted as members of the secret fraternity, and under pretence of celebrating divine service, converted the churches into political club-houses; the pulpits rang with maledictions upon the infidels, who were now to be driven from Christendom. On the other hand, the Mussulman population, however much opposed to the Sultan and his reforms, could not remain indifferent to the results

of the movement among their dependents, the Rayahs. With the example of Servia before them, they foresaw the probability of losing their rich pachaliks and spahiliks unless they assisted the authorities in speedily putting down the revolt. Animated with such feelings and such hopes—the one to carve out his emancipation, the other to preserve his revenues and peculiar rights and privileges—commenced that dreadful struggle between the Mussulman and Rayah, equally fanatic and ferocious.

The contest was not confined to the defile or the mountain, it raged with all the bitterness of intense hatred, alike in the towns and villages. The Haiducs having made themselves masters of all the passes leading to Constantinople, for a time intercepted every communication with the Government. Meanwhile a Haiduc, one of the comrades of Tzerni George, known by the name of Milo, and a fanatic Papa of Leskovatz, in Upper Moesia, carried everything before them. Success gained them recruits, and in a few days Pacha Mustapha found himself besieged in his fortress at Nissa, by an infuriated horde of Rayahs, amounting it is said to upwards of fifteen thousand.

When it was too late, the Pacha restored the Helena of the Slavonians to her people; the details of the miseries she had suffered, her dishonour, her forcible recantation of the creed of her fathers, only tended the more to exasperate the insurgents, who now massacred every Mahometan that fell into their hands. The Pacha, as a last resource, solicited the mediation of the high digni-

taries of the Greek Church, whom he won over to his interests, at the sacrifice of a large portion of his ill-gotten treasures. He also sent rich presents, and an embassy in the person of the Greek Bishop of Nissa to Michaeli, the son of Prince Milosh, who at this time governed Servia, requesting him to intercede with the infuriated people.

Relying on the promises made by the Pacha to the clergy of the Greek Church assembled at Nissa, that their grievances should be redressed, threatened with excommunication, dreading the invasion of their country by Prince Michaeli, who declared he would unite his army with that of Turkey, the greater number of the insurgent peasants sullenly and reluctantly returned to their homes. The Mahometan is ever treacherous in his dealings with the Rayah; and the perfidious Mustapha of Nissa, having united his forces with those of Hussein, the Pacha of Widin, commenced those barbarous butcheries, from the details of which the soul of every man possessing a spark of humanity sickens with horror. It is recorded, that during this razzia the whole country leading from Nissa to Sofia was laid waste, and more than a hundred villages burned to the ground. At the same time, the ravages of Jacoub Pacha, at the head of a vast horde of Mussulman-Bosnians and Arnouts, almost surpass belief; their depredations were confined to Upper Moesia, extending from Nissa to the plains of Macedonia. The towns of Vrania and Leskovatz were sacked, and every valuable belonging to the Christians carried off; the churches were burnt, the clergy shot or dispersed, and the unhappy

woman who was unable to fly for protection to the Haiduc of the mountain, was treated with the most revolting barbarity; and, as if fate had willed that there should be no refuge for the Rayah but the fastnesses of the Haiduc, the heartless Prince of Servia closed his frontiers against the fugitives, who were shot if they attempted to pass into Servia.

A little conciliation on the part of these barbarous pachas might have allayed the irritation of the people, exhorted as they were to obedience by the high dignitaries of the Greek Church, and dreading excommunication; at the same time, the Sultan and his Government would have been saved much humiliation and danger.

The predatory hordes of Bosnia and Albania, intoxicated with success, and now that the valleys and defiles leading to their respective countries were deserted, having nothing to fear from the hostility of the Rayah insurgents, prepared to carry off on pack-horses to their own homes the immense booty they had acquired. But the eye of a vengeful people never sleeps; they were intercepted by bands of Haiducs, Ouskoks, and Klepts, who united to the peasants, now desperate, massacred every soul that fell into their hands to the amount of several thousands; and so great was the booty, including weapons and ammunition, that the spoil of the Arnout is still a proverb, and the victory the subject of many a spirit-stirring piesma among the Slavonian bards and story-tellers.

Encouraged by success, the insurrection may be said to have only now commenced, several towns and isolated

forts successively fell into the hands of the insurgents. Sofia and Nissa, together with many other important towns in Bulgaria, were again besieged, and even Stamboul was not secure, since the revolt had now spread into Macedonia, Thessaly, and Candia; and it may with truth be said, that the fate of the Ottoman Porte trembled in the balance, while the humiliated sovereign, to preserve his rule, saw himself obliged to seek the mediation of the Patriarch of Constantinople, and also that of the Russian Ambassador.

The mediators between the sovereign and his people, in effecting a reconciliation, were aided by the industrious habits of the Bulgarian tribes, whose love for his home and smiling fields prevailed over the excitement of glorious war, and they were again induced by many promises of ameliorating their social condition to give up the contest.

Mustapha, the Pacha of Nissa, was sent into banishment, and his nephew, the primary cause of all this mischief, was never more heard of. An Osmanli commissioner, Bey Teifik, respected by the Bulgarians, for his high probity and conciliatory disposition, was sent by the Divan, invested with full powers to grant the insurgents a general amnesty, and redress their grievances; but as these demands involved, in some instances, the rights of the Sultan, and the interests of the Osmanli grandee, Bulgarian commissioners were invited to accompany the Bey to Stamboul, that the treaty might be considered, and receive the ratification of the Sultan!

An Osmanli ruler rarely keeps faith with the Rayah. At the very moment this negotiation was going forward, advantage was taken to send Hussein Pacha with an army of tacticoes, to cover the route leading to Constantinople, and to relieve the fortresses that had been so closely besieged by the insurgents; at the same time, six thousand Albanians and Bosnians defeated the rebel Rayah chief, Milo, at Leskovatz, which led to the disorganization of his followers; but being bred in the school of Tzerni George, he still held out, and as a last resource, threw himself into the fort of Kaminitza, near Nissa, with only, it is said, thirty men; he soon fell; and his little garrison, now reduced to a few men, besieged by cannon, and finding the fort crumbling around them, cut their way, in despair, through the Turkish ranks, and retreated to the mountains.

With Milo's death, the insurrection of the Bulgarians ended, having gained but little by their protracted and sanguinary contest. The future fate of this people—who shall tell!

CHAPTER IX.

Visit to the Pacha of Nissa—The missing Englishman—Italian doctor—Hospitality of the Pacha—Arnout guard—Crossing the Balkan—Traces of ancient roads—Aspect of the country—Splendid view—Ruins of an old Hungarian castle—Karaoul—Arrival at Orkup—Sketch of the town and inhabitants—Advantages of an Imperial firman—An agreeable surprize.

PREVIOUS to commencing my tour in these provinces, my friends at Constantinople procured for me an Imperial firman, which secures to the traveller many privileges beyond those given by the ordinary teskeré. In addition to this, Selim, the Pacha of Belgrade, furnished me with a recommendatory letter to his friend, Wassif Mehemet Bey, Pacha of Nissa.

On arriving at Nissa, I called on the Pacha, with the intention of presenting him the letter; finding him from home, I left it with his private secretary, proposing to repeat my visit. The Pacha, on his return, as I subsequently learned, having perused my letter, gave immediate orders that I should be admitted—he would see the Englishman.

To convey any adequate idea of the domineering self-will of a Turkish Pacha, especially when he is thwarted, would be difficult; a petted child, who has never known contradiction, stamping and screaming for a toy, bears some resemblance to our furious Pacha, when he found that neither secretary, attendants, nor pandours, knew where the Englishman was to be found; I had not left my address. Successive troops of pandours were now dispatched to search every han in the town; vain attempt! they all returned with the same answer, "The Englishman is not to be found!"

The wrath of the Pacha now became dangerous. "He shall be found," exclaimed the irritated dignitary, "if every house in Nissa is examined. He is not a Nemshi (Austrian), not a Rouss, but an Ingleski, and the friend of my friend, Selim! By my beard, I will see him, dead or alive!"

The chief aga, with the kadi, and several officers of the Pacha's household, together with an Italian doctor, now set out, and by beat of drum, it was proclaimed through every quarter of the town, that an English traveller was missing. At length, a Spanish Jew, with whom I had some conversation, proposed a visit to the Palankin, the Rayahs' quarter, having seen me pass that way, through the gates of the Varosh. The poor people of this district, who are seldom visited by the Osmanli, except to seek some delinquent for punishment, were seized with consternation when they saw the dreaded officers of His highness the Pacha, with their pandours, marching through the quiet streets, and heard the loud

roll of the drum, and the voice of the crier, demanding if an English traveller had been seen among them. None could tell; until, at length, it was ascertained that a Frank had put up at the han of the Servian, Demetrius, to which the whole cavalcade now proceeded.

In the meantime, I was quietly revising my notes, and thinking whether Colburn would transform them into those of the Bank of England, when Georgy came to me, his usual rosy face pale with terror, announcing the visit of the Pacha's officers. "What could they want?" A little explanation with Signor di Roberto, the Italian doctor, made us laugh heartily, and I found much pleasure in conversing with my new acquaintance, with whom I spent many pleasant hours during my sojourn at Nissa, and from whom I learned several interesting particulars of these provinces.

Although Signor di Roberto, a native of Capua, in the Neapolitan territory, holds the rank of regimental doctor, he is not a renegade; nor is it necessary that a physician should change his creed on entering the Turkish army. He is perfectly satisfied with his appointment; his pay is considerably more than that of a medical officer in the Neapolitan army, and in his private practice, he informed me, he ever found the wealthy Osmanli extremely generous. The case is different with the military man who may seek service in the Turkish army, since the Koran excludes him from command, unless he becomes a Mussulman, allowing him no rank but that of instructor.

The Pacha received me most hospitably, insisted upon my taking up my abode at his konak; and, in truth, I was only too glad to exchange the meagre fare of the Slavonian schismatics, for savoury pilaffs and delicious confectionary. Nor did the good Pacha forget that an English infidel might enjoy a bottle of good wine without endangering his eternal peace; indeed, Wassif Mehemet, who is a Georgian by birth, is himself a *bon-vivant*, and to judge from his open countenance, florid complexion and ample person, we might suppose him to be a jolly yeoman of Merry England, dressed as an Osmanli Pacha for a masked-ball.

Still, the high office filled by Wassif Mehemet is no sinecure, with such neighbours as turbulent Bosnia, the Haiducs of the Balkan, and the Arnouts of Upper Moesia; besides, it requires the interposition of all his authority and vigilance to restrain the Spahi from exercising his hereditary propensity to prey upon the poor Rayah of his Pachalik.

Our warlike Pacha, who prided himself not a little on his abilities as an accomplished tactician, called out his troops, and passed them in review, and great was his delight on hearing the sentence of approval, expressed by a Frank, as to their high state of discipline; and when we consider the difficulty of taming down the wild spirits of Albania and Bosnia, from which he had drawn his recruits, to the restraints of military discipline, they stood well to their arms, and to judge from the ample chest and broad shoulders of the men, they would be very formidable in a charge.

I remained two days at Nissa, and then prepared to continue my route. My hospitable host, however, would not hear of my travelling through the Balkan without a guard of pandours. In vain I protested against having such an honour conferred upon me; in vain I declared I felt perfectly satisfied with the escort of my faithful kiraidji. "Was I not an Englishman? and having been his guest, was not his head answerable for my safety?" I was therefore obliged to bow to his decision.

In truth, not only here, but throughout all my wanderings in these provinces, I met with the same hospitality, the same attention from every *employée* in the Turkish service, whether civil or military; this was not rendered to me as an individual, but as a mark of the high respect in which they hold my country. The traveller of rank, who passes over these provinces, with his caravan of pack-horses, attended by a numerous retinue of dragomen, pandours, and attendants, surrounded with all the accessories of wealth, might expect to command a favourable reception; but here was a traveller, journeying without ostentation received everywhere as the distinguished guest of the highest officer in the Turkish service.

The time for my departure had now arrived, and at break of day I was awoke from my dreams, by a hoarse voice exclaiming: "Haidé! haidé! Effendi," and a hard bony hand pressing my wrist, which I found to be a very usual method of putting slumber to flight in this country.

On descending from the Tschardah, a gallery, where I preferred passing the night in the open air, I met one of the officers of the Pacha, who conducted me to the Kaphana, or Saal, where a repast had been prepared for me, of coffee and confectionary. How grateful I felt for Turkish hospitality; there was also a letter of introduction from my provident host, to Hussein, the military Pacha of Vrania, where I intended remaining a few days.

Notwithstanding a very early hour had been fixed for our departure, I found my trusty kiraidji, with his konies ready saddled, and all my effects neatly and securely packed for a mountain tour. The pandour, or Turkish kavaas, was now added to our little party, a tall grim-looking Arnout, with an immense moustache, the *beau idéal* of a warrior of that bellicose people; he sat on his horse—a fine specimen of the old Macedonian charger, now so rarely found in Turkey—upright and motionless as a statue. He was habited in the usual dress of a kavaas, so peculiar to that arm of the Osmanli military police force, whose employment it is to act as couriers, and protect the caravans and travellers in European Turkey from the attacks of brigands.

His costume consisted of a pale-yellow hussar jacket, thrown over the shoulder, braided with sundry devices of stars and crescents, the ample shalwar, a singular looking pair of long, wide cloth boots, of the same colour as the jacket, and braided, with the usual red fez. The long Arnoutka (Arnout gun) slung across his

shoulder, a sabre, a pair of pistols in the holsters of his saddle, another pair, together with a hanjar, stuck in his shawl girdle, completed his preparations for offensive and defensive warfare; in every respect, his formidable appearance was well adapted to intimidate any Haiduc, or Ouskok, inclined to dispute our passage.

Georgy, who had often heard from his father of the decapitating propensities of a Turkish Pacha, at whose command the gleaming scimitar often struck off the head of some hapless Rayah, because his Highness believed his eyes exercised an evil influence on the destiny of the petty tyrant or his family, was evidently ill at ease. It is true these days have now happily passed by; but true to first impressions, he could not tranquillize his apprehensions. Was he not standing on forbidden ground! was he not under the verandah of a Pacha's kiosk! and as he pointed to the mists which hung over the summits of the Balkan, he whispered: "Ah, Gospodin! there is the home of the free Haiduc! There the escort of the poor Rayah kiraidji is worth an army of Osmanli kavaas!"

Thus fortified with Rayah protection, and Osmanli protection we left Nissa, the pandour caracoling before us, brandishing his sabre, and crying "Allah il Allah!" and commenced ascending the stupendous Balkan.

We did not select the pass usually traversed, that leads through Bulgaria to Sofia and Constantinople, but that through Upper Moesia, the country of the Rasci, which is rarely taken by a Frank traveller, and having

formerly crossed the Balkan by two other routes, we may venture to say that this is decidedly the most picturesque and interesting, and where the traveller will find the inhabitants preserving perhaps the same manners and customs as in the days of the Macedonian conqueror. It is also the nearest route to Albania, Macedonia and Greece.

We commenced our troublesome, fatiguing route through a cleft in the rocks, bare and rugged, upon a paved road, about two feet in width, and merely sufficient for a pack-horse to pass; the paving-stones were of immense size, and worn into holes, and from long usage, extremely slippery. If we may judge from the deep grooves in the sides of the rock, occasioned by the friction of the packages on the backs of horses, and other indications of its wear and tear, it must have been constructed by an engineer of the early patriarchs, who had only one object in view, that of continuing his route as the bird flies, indifferent to whatever obstruction he might meet with, either in mountain, torrent or gorge.

After viewing the position of the country we had crossed, and from subsequent observations I made while travelling in Upper Moesia and Macedonia, I feel convinced that a capital carriage-road might be constructed from the Valley of Nissa by following the course of the Morava to Pristina, and from thence by the river Vardar, through Macedonia to Salonica, on the Ægean Sea. Nay, so trifling are the engineering difficulties, that a railroad could be laid down from the great

Morava, in Servia, which runs into the Lower Danube, and then traversing the route I have described, unite the Danube with the Grecian Seas; and when we remember the fertility of these provinces and their resources, the quantity of cotton and tobacco even now grown in the southern districts, the wool, raw silk, hides, flax, hemp, oil and honey, and almost every production necessary to the manufacturer, which may be procured at a price almost nominal, we cannot but think that the speculation would prove profitable, more particularly as the first outlay could not be much in a country where land and wood can be had for nothing, and which everywhere presents sufficient indications of coal, iron and other mineral productions.

But to return to our patriarchal road. Every step we made in advance increased the danger of the ascent, which appeared almost perpendicular, conducted as it was up the steep sides of a rocky precipice, beneath which roared the foaming Morava. One false step, and all was over with both man and beast, for there was not a tree or shrub to break the fall; it appeared like a wall chiselled out by the hand of man.

Unconscious of, or careless of danger, my pandour and kiraidji continued their route, chanting some national melody, only interesting as being new, and very monotonous. As for myself, to confess the truth, I did feel somewhat uneasy, and should certainly have preferred trusting my safety to my own supporters, were it not that a sort of *esprit de pays* prevented me, I did not like to exhibit fear when an Arnout pandour

and a Slavonian guide evidently felt none; long habit, however, had rendered them indifferent to danger, whereas I was fresh from the luxuriant West, and I had not recently been accustomed to mountain travelling. Ere long, I became as indifferent as my companions to neck-breaking precipices—the mountainous character of the country continuing more or less steep for several hundred miles, over which my route lay, to Prevesa, on the Ægean Sea.

After traversing our mountain-road for several leagues, we arrived on the summit of an extensive plateau, green as an emerald, where we saw the first indications that we approached the home of man—groups of sheep and goats, attended by their shepherds, who from their robust appearance and bold determined manner, might have been taken for Haïducs. They seemed to have been friends of Georgy, for they hailed him with many a "dobro dosli! kako je Georgy!" assisted us from our horses, made a fire, cooked our noon-day meal, and with coffee, raki and the tchibouque, we were more than contented. We also enjoyed a splendid view of the Jaskevatz, in Servia, the Arnoutska Planina, and the vast chain of Bosnia and Tchernegoria, their snowy summits glittering in the noon-day sun, while beneath us the Morava, like molten silver, was seen winding, far as the eye could reach, through a formidable defile.

We now had a tedious and difficult descent through the bed of a half-dried-up torrent to Corvin-grad, where we found a karaoul, with a Turkish guard of an

officer and a few men, stationed for the defence of this important pass. A castellated fort, now in ruins, shows the importance that was attached to a position which commands the entrance to a defile that leads through the centre of Upper Moesia to Macedonia and the Grecian Seas.

From the tradition of the country we learn that the Hungarians during the time they were the rulers of Bosnia, extended their conquests to this defile, and took possession of the fort under Mathius Corvinus, whose name it still bears (Corvin-grad), and that the Turks, after a sanguinary contest, reduced it to ruins. The only remains now existing are a portion of the rampart and the gate, with a bas-relief mutilated, and an inscription, but so defaced as to be illegible.

At Corvin-grad we crossed the Morava, in a small boat of most original construction, barely sufficient to contain ourselves and luggage, to this we attached our horses with ropes, who took to the water like so many spaniel dogs. A few leagues farther, we again crossed a river, called the Toplitza, and followed its rocky and slippery sides to the old town of Orkup, the ad-Herculem of the ancients. Here we found a wooden bridge in a most dilapidated condition; the town itself has nothing to recommend it, the streets are narrow, and only partially paved. The market, however, was abundantly supplied with all the necessaries of life; fruit, bread, meat, vegetables, excellent poultry, and fish from the Toplitza; coffee-houses and restaurants also abounded, appearing as if the people were not strangers either to

wealth or good living. The greater number of the inhabitants are Arnouts, easily distinguishable from the Rayahs by a dashing, soldier-like, dauntless manner; the surrounding country is very fine, and apparently well cultivated; the sides of the hills were covered with vines, and the banks of the Toplitza with corn-fields and meadows.

My pandour conducted me to the kiosk of Veli Bey, the Governor, who kindly entertained us, and gave me a billet for the night in the house of a wealthy Zinzar merchant.

The gasdalik, that is, billeting travellers, who may be furnished with an Imperial firman, or who may be employed in the service of the Sultan, is a grievance which falls heavily upon the Rayah, especially when the party is numerous, as he is obliged to furnish lodging and provisions free of expense, and even horses to the next station if required. In some cases, it is the custom for the starachin of the Rayahs, or the kiaia of the Mahometans, to render this compulsory hospitality at the general expense of the commune.

In a country where the hans are destitute of every accommodation, the gasdalik can hardly be dispensed with, and may be necessary for the better class of travellers in Turkey: unfortunately, the system gives rise to many intolerable annoyances by which the Rayah is always the sufferer, owing to the facility it affords to any brute of a Turk, furnished with his Imperial firman, to invade the sacred privacy of a home, when, not content with exacting everything his necessities may require,

he too frequently exhibits the most disgusting rudeness towards the women.

The Franks, however, are always welcome; those who visit these provinces being generally, if not always, men of character—taught to respect and observe the decencies and proprieties of social life, never returning hospitality with baseness, at least I never heard of an instance; their generosity, or, as we term it, justice in remunerating their host, or his servants, for the trouble and expense they occasion, causes their visits to be regarded not only as an honour, but a source of profit. The Turkish authorities, aware of the Frank's disposition to pay generously for what he has, always billet him upon some Rayah, for whom they entertain a special regard.

Various arguments might be urged for the immediate abolition of this privilege, it not only irritates the Rayah inhabitants, but tends to prevent the improvement of the hans, whose hanjis, if they were certain of being visited by a higher class of travellers than caravan-drivers, would find it their interest to be prepared to meet the demands of their guests. To this we may add, that so long as the Rayah has to complain of this, and other grievances and humiliations, to which we shall allude hereafter, at once oppressive and irritating, so long will there be in Turkey, Haiducs and Ouskoks, and a sufficient degree of general discontent to produce a rebellion without the exciting harangues of Panslavism and Heteria demagogues.

My good Zinzar, Christo Manchet, knowing his

guest to be a Frank, received me with great courtesy, and after some conversation, conducted me through an inner court-yard, filled with packages of merchandize, into an elegant apartment, on the first story, furnished with some taste. To my great surprise, a violin and a guitar lay on the table; and to my increased astonishment, the wife of my host, a lady-like woman, welcomed me, in the Italian language, and this in Orkup—in the wilds of Upper Moesia. Three fine children were also playing around mamma. The scene altogether forcibly reminded me of home, and caused me to wish I could by some means abridge the distance; but as I could not, I commenced chatting with Madame, who was the first intellectual, conversable woman I had met with since leaving Belgrade. She was a native of Salonica, and her husband, who was accustomed to visit the great annual fairs of Germany, was extensively engaged in commerce, and spoke German and Italian remarkably well.

I need not say that I passed the evening most agreeably, and, in addition to the various courtesies rendered me, I must not omit to mention, I enjoyed the comfort of a European bed—what an exotic in Turkey!

CHAPTER X.

Departure from Orkup—Valley of the Toplitza—A colony of Arnouts—Sketches of the inhabitants—Novel mode of crossing a river—Thunder-storm—Perilous travelling—Scene at a mountain han—Hanji cookery—Aspect of the country—An eventful forest—Bivouac—How to procure a supper and cook it—A characteristic sketch of national prejudice.

In my route to Vrania, through Orkup, I intended to visit the famous battle-field of Cossova: this would be somewhat circuitous, but highly interesting from historical recollection, since that part of Upper Moesia is celebrated as being the theatre on which all the great and decisive battles have been fought from time immemorial between the Servians and their invaders, and where they made their last desperate stand against the Turks, under Amurath II.

This route had now become somewhat dangerous, owing to the excitement among the Arnouts of the mountain district, through which I had to pass, who, it appeared, had taken up arms to oppose the introduction

of the conscription for the Nizam y Djedid. Such being the state of the country, Veli Bey declared he would not be answerable for my safety if I travelled through it. Even had I been inclined to tempt danger, though I very much doubt if any existed to a peaceable Frank traveller, neither pandour nor guide would accompany me; I was therefore obliged to relinquish my intention, and quitting the banks of the Toplitza again steer my course towards the Morava, the home of the peaceable Rayah.

We travelled some time up the beautiful and fertile valley of the Toplitza; rich fields of maize and tobacco everywhere met the view, together with luxuriant orchards, in which the cherry, the plum, the pear, the apple, the chesnut and walnut, seemed to arrive at the highest perfection. Nature, bountiful nature, had done everything, man but little. Gigantic weeds cast their noisome shadow over the young and verdant grain, and the trees appeared to have been utter strangers to the pruning-knife; neither were the cultivated fields protected by any fence from being trampled by the horses of the caravan. Georgy's konies seemed abundantly contented with the dainty morsels they cropped from the tender maize, in spite of all our efforts to restrain their dishonest propensities.

The villages were numerous, and dotted about in every direction—not like those of the Rayahs, hid from view in some sequestered nook—which at once proved that the inhabitants must have belonged to the privileged—the ruling class. This was apparent in their

bold, martial bearing; they were, in fact, a colony of Arnouts, who have been settled here since the destruction of the Servian monarchy, after the battle of Cossova, when the Rasci-Servians of this country were driven to the mountains, or expatriated themselves into Hungary, on the Lower Danube, and gave their name to the province now called the Servian Voiavodina.

The present inhabitants are a splendid race of men, possessing all the characteristics of their brethren in Albania. The Albanian phistan, or kilt, is not much worn; and as good, decorous Mahometans, their women, whether at work in the fields, or paying visits in the village, are always strictly veiled.

Now that my pandour had got into his own country, every man that we met appeared to be one of his friends, to whom he most industriously proclaimed that his Effendi was an Ingleski, at the same time creating me, by his own letters patent, pacha, bimbashi, or whatever other title it pleased him to invest me with; consequently, I became an object of great interest; they had seen a Rouss (Russian), a Nemshee (German), and a Frank; but an Ingleski, never.

At the first village, in which we remained to rest and refresh ourselves, men, women and children came running from the fields to see the Ingleski; the men shook hands with me, the women and children were made to touch me, that they might boast of their good fortune to their distant friends, that they had seen an Ingleski—a man of that wonderful nation, whose marvellous deeds filled the earth with admiration—a

people that could make everything, do everything, and travelled in the air, the fire, and the water.

Most assuredly, I felt very self-complacent on the subject of dear Old England, though I could not help thinking we had not yet acquired the art of steering balloons to our satisfaction, and that we did not ride in chariots of fire, as they supposed, but only used them to propel carriages of a less dangerous description. I received numerous invitations from my good villagers, to visit them in their houses, and remain some days among them. The hanji and his jis were fully occupied in serving raki and coffee to those who wished to drink with me; and a host of tchibouques were offered me, as guarantees, at the same time, of their good faith, and of my safety, if I remained among them.

My weapons next attracted attention, especially a pair of small detonating pocket-pistols, with their revolving barrels; then the excellence of my powder, the neat, compact dressing-case, with its knife, fork and spoon, and other trifling articles, so necessary to the traveller; all of which underwent the strictest examination, ever eliciting exclamations of wonder and admiration.

It has been truly said, that curiosity is the parent of knowledge; may not, then, the eager disposition of this people to acquire information, be taken as an evidence of their ability to rise high in the scale of intellectual civilization? They certainly exhibited a greater degree of mental vivacity—of a desire to become acquainted with the habits of a people they looked up to and respected, than any of the other nationalities I met with

in these provinces. They are warm-hearted, and hospitable; and I was sorry to learn, that their fanaticism and turbulent disposition rendered them great enemies of the poor Rayahs, who occupy the banks of the Morava, on the other side of the mountain.

In consequence of the melting of the snow in the more elevated districts of Upper Moesia and Tcherne_goria, we sought in vain for a spot where we could ford the Toplitza, which now rolled onward like a torrent; boats there were none; we then ascended a league or two higher up the river, without being able to effect our purpose. At length, as a last resource, my pandour and kiraidji resolved to risk the danger of swimming the horses across; and seeing a clump of majestic trees on the opposite side, whose branches were bathed in the water, we resolved to make for that point as our haven of safety.

Our preparations for this exploit required some time and care, to prevent the submersion of our baggage; but this was provided against, by the provident foresight of Georgy, who carried in his belt a little hatchet: a raft was soon made, on which we placed our travelling paraphernalia; then each horse was secured to the other by strong cords—and we had already proved them to be capital swimmers: the great difficulty to be overcome, was the landing. Georgy led the way, as pilot; and truly, it was an undertaking in no small degree hazardous, for our horses to breast the force of the current; yet, so well had the experienced kiraidji planned the enterprize, that, allowing for the exact loss

of ground caused by the rapidity of the torrent, we arrived precisely at the spot he had selected; when, rolling the cord firmly around his waist, he sprang from the saddle upon a stout branch of a tree, and from thence upon the flooded bank of the river, and piloted our exhausted horses into smooth water, where they obtained a sure footing.

Neither whip nor spur was applied to the noble animal during our passage; nothing but the encouraging voice of the rider, as he patted him, calling him his dear, his "moia blago," his "serce moie," and every endearing epithet his vocabulary afforded.

How unjustly is this noble animal treated in Western Europe! How often is his docile, courageous nature outraged by cruel treatment! Surely it reflects but little credit on our boasted civilization, that we must learn the wisest method of treating him from an illiterate Slavon kiraidji!

The day was now declining, the clouds were low, and the wind moaning through the clefts of the rocks above, warning us that we should do wisely to seek the shelter of a han; still we had, before we could arrive at our destination, a neck-breaking ride of some hours up a pathway carried along the precipitous sides of a mountain some thousand feet high.

We had scarcely got over half the ground, when the threatened tempest broke upon us—one of those terrible thunder-storms peculiar to mountain districts, so sudden and violent that even my experienced companions were taken by surprise; the whole atmosphere

became intensely dark; the wind, first howling through the forest above us, soon increased to a hurricane that threatened to sweep us to destruction; the forked lightning flashed above, now around, and again beneath us, lighting up an unfathomable abyss, succeeded by peals of thunder reverberating from rock to rock, from mountain to mountain, with a deafening crash as if Nature in convulsive throbs was sinking into chaos, while the rain poured down as if from a water-spout.

We struggled onward with great difficulty and no little danger, each gust more violent than another, threatening to hurl us down the precipice, till to our great relief we found shelter beneath a projecting crag, where being in some degree protected from the fury of the elements, we remained an hour; and I do not think in all my wanderings, and they have been many and far, I ever experienced a thunder-storm so violent. Even my kiraidji, who had been constantly travelling for the last fifteen years through some of the most difficult passes in these mountain districts of European Turkey, and consequently exposed to many vicissitudes of climate, declared that he had never witnessed such a tempest; and, from our unprotected position, we must have been lost (not an unfrequent occurrence to travellers here), had it not been for the temporary refuge so opportunely afforded us.

The change to a fine night was happily more instantaneous than the bursting of the storm; the moon rose high in the heavens, shedding a light so brilliant that we were enabled to continue our route with perfect

safety, and it was with no little pleasure that we found ourselves on the summit of a mountain plateau, and heard the loud barking of dogs, which told us that a han was near, for our horses were thoroughly tired, and ourselves completely drenched and benumbed with cold.

The han at which we now arrived was recently erected by the order of the Turkish Government, to provide for the safety of travellers; it was divided into two parts, one kept by a Turk for the reception of Mussulmans, and the other by a Rayah for Christians. A dispute now arose between my pandour and kiraidji as to where I should pass the night; the pandour insisting that, as his head would be forfeited should any harm happen to me, I must remain with him that he might watch over my safety; Georgy, on the other hand, as pertinaciously contended that I was a Christian, and consequently ought to abide with the people of my own faith, besides the authorities at Belgrade would hold him answerable if any misfortune should befal me.

Knowing from experience I should get nothing with the Rayah but stewed beans, the prospect of allaying the cravings of a most voracious appetite in the enjoyment of some savoury pilaff, tempted me—Heaven forgive the sin!—to take up my abode with the infidels; such being my decision, my pandour, cheering loudly, bore me off in triumph.

The Mahometan hanji, evidently delighted at the preference given to his han, exerted himself most diligently to make me welcome. The good man, who was butcher, cook and baker, quickly called into action all his varied

accomplishments. A lamb was slaughtered, and the most delicate morsels cut out, impaled on a wooden spit, and placed before the fire, the pandour acting as turn-spit. In addition to this, a pilaff, well seasoned with red pepper and garlic, was also placed to simmer, sending forth a most promising odour. His next operation was to knead a portion of wheaten flour into a thin cake, which he put into an earthen dish with a cover, and then baked it by enveloping the whole with red-hot ashes and cinders; and that my bed might be comfortable, plenty of nice fresh straw was laid in a warm corner near the fire.

With so much hospitable preparation, I need not say that we made an excellent supper; the lamb was well flavoured and roasted to perfection, the pilaff perhaps somewhat too highly seasoned for the taste of a Western European, but the bread was perfection, and of every other mode of baking it, I give this the preference. Still true to human nature, I was not contented—man never is—I could not but remember that in the han of the Rayah some very passable wine might be had for a few paras. My pandour seemed to divine my wishes, and offered to fetch some from the Giaour; in a few minutes I had before me a pitcher of the rosy fluid, by no means despicable, either for strength or flavour.

I observed my pandour giving more than once some longing glances at the forbidden draught, which I interpreted to mean that he would be very glad of a little gentle persuasion to aid me in emptying the pitcher. I therefore expatiated with all my eloquence on the venial

nature of the trespass, when his Mussulman virtue gave way like snow before the summer sun, and giving a sly look at the hanji, fatigued and thirsty, he never paused till he had reached the bottom. It did not require much solicitation to induce the hanji himself to join us in a second pitcher; indeed, if I might judge from his jolly face, he was no stranger to the libations of the rosy god—moreover, as he exclaimed, "Fala Bogu! dobro Mehmed!" (God is great! Mahomet is good!) might not a poor Mahometan follow the example of an Ingleski gospodin?

In the meantime I did not forget my poor Georgy, who I knew was starving upon the meagre fare allowed him by his Church, and resolved he should join us. This, however, was a work of some difficulty, so broad is the line of demarcation between the two religions, and it was not without much persuasion I induced him and the Rayah hanji to join us. I also invited two gigantic shepherds, or perhaps Haiducs, who had strolled in to see the strangers, to partake of our good cheer. Even in this remote place, I was happy to see my endeavours to promote friendly intercourse between these people were not without effect. I was desirous to break down the barrier, which fanaticism had raised between people of the same kindred and speaking the same language. To say the truth, I had a most efficient ally in the sparkling goblet which passed from one to the other, first with a laying the hand on the breast, this was succeeded by a vas sluga, then a nasdravi, and ended by the whole party embracing each other with a loud pobratim as if they were old friends.

In fact, the Slavo-Mussulmen, and the Arnout-Mussulmen have been but half converted to Islamism; my pandour, a native of Orkup, was called Joko (John), the Mussulman hanji Stevo (Stephan), and, as if in opposition, the Rayah hanji's name was Meta (Mahomet).

Joko, my pandour, notwithstanding he had made somewhat too free with the contents of the pitcher, did not forget his duties as a soldier: before retiring to his hard couch on the divan, he thoroughly cleaned and charged our weapons in case of danger, every now and then reminding me that we were among the Haiducs; our habiliments were also dried, and neatly packed, so that we had nothing to do the next morning but strap on our sleeping carpets and cloaks, and jump into the saddle. I had, however, to pay the bill—twenty piastres! not five shillings—for a capital supper, oceans of wine, raki and coffee, including the keep of our horses.

After leaving the han, we passed over an extensive plateau, broken here and there into deep ridges, ravines, and glens, through which ran numerous tiny rivulets, now swollen into torrents by the deluge of the preceding evening. The trees, principally oak, were for the most part gnarled, ill-grown, and partially decayed, but, as if endowed with the spirit of immortality, gigantic shoots, already venerable from age, had sprung up from the parent stem. Intermingled with these a tangled brushwood of briar, and every description of prickly shrub, formed an impenetrable barrier, if we attempted to deviate from the old beaten pathway of the caravan; even this, from long disuse, had become in some places

nearly impassable, owing to the abundant vegetation. I also frequently observed the blackened and burnt trunks of trees, as if the forest had been set on fire at no very distant period; on remarking this to my companions, they informed me that these mountain plateaus, between the Toplitza and the Morava, had been long the haunt of the Haiducs, and the scene of many a bloody contest between them and their neighbours the Arnout Spahis; and that so late as the year 1841, when the Rayahs of these districts were in a state of insurrection, these impenetrable wilds served as so many points of gathering and refuge, to prevent which, the woods were set on fire.

The aspect of the country was now lonely and desolate indeed; for since we left the vicinity of our han of last night, we had seen neither man, his habitation, nor any domestic animal. Even the lordly eagle, and the ill-omened vulture, as they hovered far above us in the air, seemed to wonder at our appearance, and when we met with a savage denizen of the forest, he stood and glared at us, as if we had been of a race of beings he had never before seen.

How many thousands of the industrious inhabitants of Western Europe, who are now struggling to obtain a pittance for their families, from some small patch of cultivated ground, might here find a home. How many smiling villages, with their corn-fields and meadows, might occupy this deserted region, for the land was evidently fertile and well watered, and the climate salubrious.

We had now been in the saddle between five and six hours, our horses were completely worn out, and to continue our route, uncertain as we were of finding a commodious resting-place (a han was out of the question) before reaching some Rayah village on the Morava, we resolved to seek some sheltered nook, and bivouac for the night. This is an undertaking that requires some consideration, not so much with regard to the comforts of the traveller, as to the certainty of procuring good grazing-grounds for his horses. All this we found in a beautiful prairie, green as an English lawn, near to which was a projecting crag, shaded by the wide-spreading branches of a lofty oak.

Aware that we must sooner or later be obliged to come to a stand-still, we had been on the look-out to procure something more substantial than the hard roasted eggs of our Mussulman hanji: most opportunely a fat buck* belonging to the Sultan—we presume he is the only owner of the game and the domain—presented himself to our notice, when he was soon added to our other packages. With such a valuable addition to our larder, we commenced our preparations for dinner, Georgy officiating as butcher, and Joko, the pandour, as cook; and being a *fête* day, our poor

* We may as well observe that neither of my companions, who follow in this respect the custom of the Jews, would have partaken of our meal had not Georgy plunged his knife into the throat of the deer and drained its blood: this explains the invariable answer, "Nio slobodno, Gospodin,"—(No, thank you), when I invited them to sup with me of any animal that happened to be shot without undergoing this process.

half-starved schismatic was permitted by his Church a reprieve from polluto (stewed beans), and promised himself the indulgence of a hearty meal. We had also a fair supply of our hanji's nice wheaten cakes, and, with coffee, wine, raki and tobacco, we considered ourselves well provided, while the beautiful weather, the bracing air of the mountain, was certain to give us a good appetite.

Previous to settling ourselves in the position we had chosen, a fire was made sufficient to roast an ox, which consumed the long grass and briars, and had also the effect of chasing away every noxious reptile and insect in the vicinity. When the earth had become dry, a sufficient space was cleared to serve for sleeping on; here we placed our saddle-bags for a pillow, our carpets for a mattress, our cloaks for a covering, and poles stuck in the ground, supported a piece of canvas as a screen against the wind. When nothing else could be found, this was my usual mode of sleeping for many months in these provinces—I always preferred it to the common han of the country; and notwithstanding the exposure to the chilly dews of night, often to rain and high winds, I never was in a better state of health; which proves that we owe the preservation of that invaluable blessing chiefly to air and exercise, and that surrounding ourselves with the luxuries and unnecessaries of life, does not tend to that effect.

Having dined, taken coffee and smoked our tchibouque, we seated ourselves before a blazing fire, for the air, as evening advanced in this high latitude, was too

chilly to be agreeable. To beguile the time, some occupation was necessary; while I employed myself in correcting and improving my sketches, my pandour and kiraidji made the woods and rocks echo and re-echo by singing their national melodies. This they varied, by reciting some heart-stirring piesma, recording the valiant deeds of the heroes of their respective nationalities. The pandour, although a Mahometan, allowed national prejudice to prevail over the impressions created by education, for he chanted the praises of Scanderbeg, and other Christian warriors of that era, who he elevated, at the expense of the Osmanli, concluding his lay by celebrating the heroism of the modern Albanian chieftain, Ali Pacha of Janina.

Georgy, now that the inner man was fortified by as much venison as would have sufficed for three ordinary men of Western Europe, resolved that the pandour should not alone ascribe all the honour and glory to his own nationality; with great enthusiasm, he sung the glorious deeds of the great Servian Kral, Stephan Douschan, who was padishah and lord alike over the Greek, the Bulgarian, and the Albanian, their vocal efforts and recitations were aided by occasional libations from the leathern bottles, which they had the liberty of drawing *draughts* upon, *ad libitum;* this last assertion, however, left our pandour ill at ease, for he pulled and pulled at his moustache, till his eyes flashed fire.

Still, everything went on most harmoniously, till Georgy, a thorough Servian, brave as a lion, except when caught in the web of some dreaded Pacha, and who cared little

for any individual Osmanli or Arnout living, began to sing the praises and marvellous exploits of his hero, Tzerni George. This was too much for the slumbering ire of the fiery Arnout, who now vomited a torrent of abuse upon Servia and all Servians—the land of swine and swine-eating Giaours! Happily, I immediately interposed as mediator, otherwise, I fear this ill-omened plateau was again destined to become the theatre of sanguinary fanatic strife. Still, I must record, in justice to my companions, while I rebuked the misplaced enthusiasm of my kiraidji, a word stilled the rage of my pandour; and having again become friends, they resolved that, for the future, the burden of their songs should be confined to the praises of some mundane houri.

This little incident, however trifling it may appear, and which might have happened among a more civilized people, equally prejudiced as to their respective nationalities, is not without interest. Does it not show, that this people, however fanatic in religion, and opposed to each other in national feeling, are not insensible to the humanizing influence of a higher intellect? The facility with which these men exchanged threats and violence for peace and good-will, affords a strong probability that, if a just and impartial administration were established—a system of legislation, based on liberal principles, tolerating all creeds, and equalizing all nationalities, thus opening a path for all its subjects to arrive at honour and distinction—the mortal enmity which at this moment exists between the privileged

class and the despised Rayah, would gradually disappear.

But to effect this, the Turkish Government must seek for instruments among that class of its subjects who, having received a liberal European education, are in some measure familiarized with the laws, customs, and habits of civilized society, and would thus be enabled to aid it in carrying out the Herculean task of regenerating a country composed of so many nationalities and creeds.

CHAPTER XI.

Travelling in Upper Moesia—Sketches of the country—Ancient roads and bridges—Valley of the Morava—Characteristics of the inhabitants—Their social state—System of self-government—Their hospitality—Reforms of the Sultan—Fanaticism of the Turks and Rayahs—Influence of the Christian clergy—Village entertainment.

THE extensive plateau on which we had bivouacked the preceding night, according to the pandour, was called Arnoutska Planina, and from its summit we enjoyed a very splendid prospect. There was the Morava, winding through a succession of deep defiles, here enclosed from view by some projecting mountain, and again opening into a wide valley, extending on to Leskovatz, whose lofty minarets were faintly pictured on the horizon. From this point the encircling chain of the Bulgarian Balkan, with its bare and rugged peaks, the Stara Planina, the Snegpol, and the Soura Planina, formed a continuous line on to the Jaskevatz, the Retagn, and the lofty Kapaonik-Gora, on the frontier of Servia. On the other side, in the direction of Novi-bazar, Pristina and Vrania, lay a chaos of mountains,

over which rose, in the far distance, the snowy summits of Upper Albania and Tchernegoria.

Refreshed with a good night's rest, and our horses again in capital travelling order, we commenced our descent through a cleft of the mountain, which gradually opened into a deep defile, and our only road being the bed of a torrent, its round stones and pebbles rendered it most difficult for our horses to keep their footing. At length we arrived at the Morava, where we found a han, and a wooden bridge of great height thrown across the river. In the centre it was broken, as if to arrest the advance of an invading army, and the space having been filled up with beams thrown across, over which was laid wattles, without any sort of fastening, these bridges, of which we crossed several on our route to Leskovatz and Vrania, were exceedingly dangerous; one in particular, consisting of a single arch, of immense height, was evidently of great antiquity. But, bad as they were, climbing broken bridges was less perilous than swimming across rivers that had become torrents.

We did not follow the banks of the Morava; for when it took a serpentine direction, regardless of every obstruction, whether defile, ravine, glen, or mountain, we kept our straightforward course, crossing and recrossing it, several times, and where neither a bridge, nor a boat was to be met with, we were again obliged to swim our horses over. If this mode of travelling were fatiguing, at least it expedited our journey, and afforded me the opportunity of enjoying many a delightful pro-

spect, and of seeing the rich and fertile valley of the Morava to greater advantage.

At the entrance of more than one of the defiles through which we passed I observed the ruins of some buildings, probably castellated towers, and not unfrequently the same species of paved horse-path I had seen on leaving Nissa, all of which tend to create the belief that this mountainous district of Upper Moesia was at one time very populous, and in the hands of a people who could appreciate it as a military position. But at how distant a period! Gigantic trees, now hoary with age, had sprung up among the ruins, showing that the devastation must have been wrought many centuries ago, and nothing had been repaired—not a stone replaced. Even the huts of the villagers, formed as they were of poles fastened together like a bee-hive, plastered with mud, and thatched with reeds, appeared as if they were constructed to be removed from place to place according to the caprice of the owner.

As we approached the town of Leskovatz, the valley of the Morava became more extended, and increased in beauty and fertility. Each of the minor streams, tributaries of the Morava, had its own tiny valley teeming with corn-fields, vineyards, and orchards. Villages lay grouped here and there, half hid from view at the base of some lofty hill or mountain, shaded by the dense foliage of fruit trees, among which the chesnut and walnut were the most noticeable. These villages, however primitive might be their construction, appeared to be the abodes of peace and happiness, to which the

lowing of oxen, the bleating of flocks and herds, imparted a peculiarly animated charm. In truth, the whole district presented such a picture of rural beauty that I could scarcely bring myself to believe I was travelling in European Turkey.

The aspect of the well-cultivated fields, so carefully weeded, and exhibiting the most abundant crops, afforded ample proof of the untiring industry of the people. The villages were deserted, for the women and children were everywhere to be seen pursuing some out-of-door occupation. Among these the indefatigable baba was ever the most prominent feature in the landscape; there she was with her eternal distaff, which received an occasional twirl, and that her employment in the fields should not be interrupted, her ingenuity had contrived a species of hammock, suspended on poles, for her infant, to which was attached a long cord, with the end fastened to her wrist, that she might rock it to sleep when it became restless. But it is not alone in agricultural labours, that the faithful helpmate of the Rayah exerts herself for the welfare of her family; the coarse woollen garments worn by herself, husband and children, are entirely fabricated by her who is at once spinner, weaver, and tailor.

The northern aspect of these beautiful valleys was appropriated to meadows and grazing-grounds, while the sweet south bloomed with orchards, corn-fields, and vineyards; in truth it was a perfect Arcadia, and in the absence of the feudal castle, or the rich man's mansion, afforded a picture of a patriarchal community. My

attention was also attracted to the care with which every drop of water from the rivulets was collected in reservoirs; these, though rudely constructed, effectually answered the purpose of irrigating the ground during the drought of summer. How often do we see in our civilized Europe, this fertilizing element left to waste itself in the channel nature had formed for it.

From local tradition, and other circumstances connected with the early history of the inhabitants of this mountain district, it is presumed that they have continued, from time immemorial, to cultivate the lands bequeathed to them by their forefathers; and though they have suffered for centuries from the extortions of rapacious Pachas and Spahis, their villages burnt, and their families driven forth, sometimes by the predatory inroads of their neighbours, the Spahis of Bosnia and Albania, and at others by the troops of the Sultan, when their own insubordination led to a contest against the authority of the Government, yet peace speedily healed the ills inflicted by strife, and led again to their return. To aid this, the authorities were always sufficiently inclined, for the state must be supported, the Pachas and Spahis must live, and the labour of the patient, hard-working Rayah must help to supply the funds for all. We ought, however, to observe that the Rayah had always a most efficient ally in the Haiduc of the mountains, who was ever ready to offer an asylum to his distressed brethren of the lowlands, until they were able to make terms with their rulers, and return in safety to their agricultural employments. In this

country, the tenure of property being so insecure, and the executive so weak, we cannot wonder at the slight manner in which the huts of the villages are constructed, nor the absence of every indication of wealth; the sole evidence of a man possessing a competence consists in the number of his flocks and herds, and the plentiful crops of his fields.

We had now been wandering for several days through these valleys and mountains in the vicinity of the Morava, yet neither mosque, nor church, nor chapel, nor cross was there to tell us that we were not travelling among a heathen people, so entirely destitute was the country of any altar for the celebration of Divine Service, with the exception of a Rayah church within a few miles of Leskovatz.

This fact requires no comment ; no eloquence could give additional force to this statement. How arbitrary and how long-continued must have been the intolerance and persecution of their Turkish rulers, when these poor Rayahs, amounting to a population of several thousands, did not dare to erect the humblest shed for the performance of religious worship, and how great must be our admiration for the unchanging steadfastness with which they have clung to the faith of their forefathers? The whole of the inhabitants of this mountain region, with the exception of the Arnouts at Orkup and on the banks of the Toplitza, and a few thousand Turks located in the strong towns of Leskovatz and Vrania, are Slavon-Rayahs of the Greek ritual—tribes of the two great Slavon families

of these provinces, Bulgarian and Servian, the latter more generally known here under the name of Rascians; and notwithstanding there is to a certain degree a perceptible difference in the character of these tribes, they have many traits in common — their manners and customs are similar, the idiom of their language almost the same, and they may be said to form one people, especially as they profess the same creed which here, as elsewhere, proves a strong bond of union.

The Bulgarian, who has imbibed somewhat of the fiery nature of his neighbour, the Rascian, is here a very different being from his timid brother who makes his home in what is called Bulgaria in the Turkish map; still true to the agricultural character which distinguishes his nationality, he is ever to be found in some sequestered nook, possessing plenty of water and a sunny aspect, so necessary to the success of his labours as a husbandman.

The Rascian is distinguished by a more lofty expression of countenance; his personal appearance is also more striking, and his bearing more martial; in his disposition, like the Servian, he resembles the Arab, consequently he is not given so much to agricultural pursuits as the Bulgarian, and occupies himself chiefly in rearing flocks and herds, and loves to seek a home on some elevated plateau, where he may hope to be secure from the razzia of the marauding Mussulman.

The Rascian, although he calls himself a member of the great Servian family, yet from the similarity of his

form and features to those of the Albanian, he appears to be a link between the old Illyrian Slavonian of these provinces, and the Slavonian tribes of a later period; this may be inferred from the songs and piesmas of his tribe, in which they chant and recite the heroic deeds of their fathers, as far back as the days of Philip and Alexander of Macedon.

The patriarchal form of self-government, so peculiar to the Slavonian tribes of these provinces, in localities where they can adhere to the custom of their fathers, is highly interesting, as a remnant of the earliest system of government devised by man, and not ill-adapted to a community, in which all the members exercise but one trade—agriculture. Again, we must not forget that here a son rarely separates himself from his parents, and though, to a certain degree, independent, continues devoted to the general interest. In consequence of this patriarchal system we find families here so numerous, that one is sufficient to form a colo (village) of thirty or forty huts, each separate habitation being distinguished by the baptismal name of the owner.

When a family becomes sufficiently numerous to form a village of itself, one of the elders is elected to preside over the community; it is his office to apportion the daily tasks of the people—the out-door work—cultivation of the fields, even to the domestic occupations of the women. He provides for the maintenance of the poor and the infirm, becomes the arbitrator of all disputes, and is at once the patriarch of his tribe, the judge, the banker, doctor, and in the absence of the Papa, reads

the prayers of his Church, kindles the incense, and pronounces the benediction.

When several of these villages enter into a confederacy for their mutual interest and protection, they elect a supreme chief, called the Kodji-Bachi, whose office is, in some instances, acknowledged by the State, and who thenceforth becomes the official organ between the Pacha of the district and the people. At his little court, all the affairs of the community are arranged, both civil and criminal; the elders of the villages become his lieutenants, and an oath of fealty is taken by the members of each tribe to their chief, and a solemn declaration made, to support each other in weal and woe. The tenure of office, however, of this chief depends on his ability, and on his aptitude for public affairs, since he may at any time be deposed, in favour of some other patriarch more deserving of the esteem of his compatriots.

The huts, or rather assemblage of huts, in which the Kodji-Bachi resides, is frequently the property of the community; the whole is enclosed within a strong fence of palisades, and contains the private dwelling of that chief and the courts of justice, the konak for the reception of distinguished guests, together with magazines for storing the overplus of the produce of the soil, as well as the metallic currency of the district. Formerly, the Turkish Government allowed the Kodji-Bachi to keep an armed guard of a few momkis (pandours), for the purpose of keeping in order the refractory. Since, however, the promulgation of the Hatti Sheriff, called the Armatolis, which abolished these communal guards

of the Rayah and Turkish villages, they do not go about armed, except here, and in some such districts exposed to a predatory visit from the Arnouts, and connived at by the Government.

During war, or some period of pressing necessity, when the djaal (war-tax) is demanded, the imposition of irregular taxes, or any subject of great interest, connected with the welfare of the community, requires discussion, the Scoupchtina is convoked, a species of parliament, presided over by the Kodji-Bachi, the elders of the villages being the representatives; the subject, whatever it be, is regularly debated, and the decision arrived at by the assembly is unhesitatingly submitted to by the whole population.

The patriarchal form of government, and federalism of villages, to which these people are so much attached, is well suited to man in a certain state of society, and particularly to the inhabitants of a mountain district; at the same time it fosters a republican spirit, and whenever they are sufficiently strong, and the mountainous nature of the locality in which they live affords them the means of defence, their first object is to elect a chief, and virtually establish a republic, conforming, however, to the laws, and paying the taxes due to the Sultan, as chief of the empire. We have a very striking instance of this at Zagori, in the mountain fastnesses of the Pindus, where we find a miniature republic in the midst of a despotic empire.

The inhabitants, a mixed race of Slavons, Greeks and Roumani, pay the Imperial tax to the Sultan, and

maintain undisputed possession of their mountain home; no hostile Osmanli daring to pass the confines of a stronghold, where every man is a soldier, and even the women never part with the pistols and dagger that glitter in their belt.

Again, we have the little state of Tchernegoria, where a population, scarcely amounting to a hundred thousand, entrenched in their mountains, have continued to keep inviolate their own patriarchal form of Government, their laws and customs, in defiance of the whole force of the Ottoman Porte, and that during the most brilliant epoch of its might and strength.

It is certain that the system of self-government, and the union of tribes and villages into a confederacy, for mutual defence, has been the means of preserving the nationality and the religion of the Rayahs, in a country where force has been too long the law of the land. Their own social virtues also, which shine out in bright relief in all their intercourse with each other, have had the same tendency. Among this people, the isolating self-interest of Western Europe is unknown; they are generous to each other, hospitable to the stranger, sympathize with the afflicted, and provide a maintenance alike for helpless infancy and decrepid age. Then let it be remembered, idleness and dissipation, so frequently the heralds of crime in a more civilized state of society, are expressly forbidden, and the man who, in this or any other respect, violates the patriarchal laws of his community is expelled, and becomes an outcast; even

the Haiduc of the mountain refuses to associate with him who is branded by his tribe as a Cain.

But, perhaps, tho most beautiful trait in the character of this primitive people, is the unfeigned respect paid to old age. The man who has borne the heat of sixty summers is exempted from every tax, and should such be his pleasure, he may pass the remainder of his days in indolence, since the hearth of each member of his tribe is to him a home; his blessing is solicited, and he is regarded by old and young with reverence, as a man who is approaching the close of his mortal pilgrimage, when he will be translated to a happier home; and must they not by kindness and good offices propitiate the friendship of one who may soon, in another world, intercede for their unworthiness?

The courtesy of these people towards the stranger, I had ample opportunities of witnessing. With them, true genuine hospitality is at once a pleasure and a duty, and I cannot speak too gratefully of the kindness I received during my tour, whether in the lowlands or the mountain-top; not that this was accorded in compliance to my firman, still less could it be in the expectation of any compensation I could make for the trouble incurred by this good people. It was sufficient that Georgy announced in the village, the arrival of the Ingleski traveller, when I was certain to receive an invitation.

In every village, Turkish or Slavonian, there is to be found a han for the reception of the traveller, in which

he is nearly certain to find bread, wine and raki, and a bench to repose on; for this accommodation, he must pay; but the charge is always trifling; if, however, the traveller is invited to the house of the Kodji-Bachi, and it is not a fast day, then the fatted calf or lamb is killed, and everything is done to evince respect towards the stranger.

We will now describe one of these entertainments, given by a wealthy tribe, at Komorava, where we passed the night, before arriving at the town of Vrania, which in no respect differed from those usually offered to the stranger, except that this was what might be termed a grand gala.

Let us, then, picture to ourselves the Kodji-Bachi, and his lieutenants, the elders of the villages—after having made an elaborate toilet, their shirts, jackets and shalwars, all richly braided, sandals with red bands, for strappings, and caps of fine lambskin—at the han of the traveller, inviting him to take up his abode at the konak of the community; while the fair baba at home has a world of trouble—her occupations are, indeed, multifarious; she has not only to provide and arrange the feast, but she and her hand-maidens must also appear in gala costume. The sheepfold, the dairy and the apiary, are ransacked, in search of dainties to form a repast worthy of him who is the guest of the whole tribe.

The coarse woollen garments of everyday wear are laid aside, to be replaced by others, which have been, perhaps, an heir-loom in the family before the Turkish

conquest. Now, we see her in the pretty blue, or red silk jacket, lined with fur, and braided with gold, the ample sleeves of which display her well-turned arm; the heaving stomacher, shalwar, and tunic, all are braided with gold; and the cincture is confined with very large clasps, often of the finest gold, richly chased, and of the most exquisite workmanship; and so beautiful was the form of the bracelets our fair baba wore on this occasion, so pure the metal, and so delicately fine the pattern, that the noblest dame in Europe might have permitted them to encircle her arm. Then the necklace, in the eyes of the antiquary, at least, was priceless, being composed of gold coins, of different epochs, chiefly of Philip and Alexander of Macedon, as fresh as if they had just issued from the Mint. The turban of the baba herself, and the hair of her young maidens, were lavishly adorned with similar beautiful coins; among which, I observed the zechinos of Venice.

When we reflect how often the villages of these poor people have been sacked and burnt, the inhabitants slaughtered, or driven into captivity, we must admire the adroitness they have displayed in preserving their wealth. These (their household gods), which they reverence as amulets, to shield them from harm in the hour of danger, are always conveyed to some place of safety, so secure, that hitherto, all the researches of their rapacious enemies, the Turks, to discover their place of concealment have proved fruitless.

On the arrival of the stranger, the baba makes her appearance, bearing a silver salver, on which is placed a

glass of water, and a small quantity of sweetmeats in a silver saucer; these she presents to her guest in token of welcome; and when he has eaten and drank in the house of his host, he becomes, as it were, a member of the family, whose person must be guarded, and property protected, at all risks. This ceremony being over, coffee is introduced, served in gold or silver cups, with filagree stands, and the tchibouque, which the traveller takes in company with the host and his friends.

Before the feast is served, the baba and her hand-maidens enter the reception-room, bringing water, and towels, for the visitors to wash their hands; the mistress of the house, through courtesy, renders this service to the stranger; then follows the repast, often so artistically prepared, as to be palatable to a native of Western Europe, even if inclined to be fastidious. There is usually a pillaff, meat cooked in vine-leaves, roast meat, salads, confectionary made from the produce of the dairy and the apiary, fruit, either fresh, preserved or dried, and invariably olives; each dish succeeds the other separately, so that the repast is a very lengthened affair Small tables, and low stools, perform the duties of a chair and table—an approach to European usages, and a great relief from the habit of sitting cross-legged, at one of the interminable dinners of an Osmanli.

During the repast, the wine is served out in a silver cup, often beautifully chased, which is passed from one to the other round the table, with a general nas-dravi (salutation). At the conclusion of the feast, the guests discharge their fire-arms, in honour of the Kodji-

Bachi, and his entertainment—the only recompense expected for so much hospitality and trouble.

With the exception of such occasions as this, or in honour of some saint, or feast of the Church, the food of these people is extremely simple; and they never forget to make the sign of the Cross, previous either to eating or drinking; and this they do so quickly, and so different from the usage of the Latin Church, that I was obliged to desist in despair, from my awkward attempts to imitate them, and content myself with invoking a blessing on the food, which never failed to give rise to sundry questionings as to the veracity of my Christian belief, and inquiries as to the religious opinions entertained by the English. All my experience among these members of the Greek Church, of whatever tribe or nationality, tended to convince me of the intense hatred borne even by these simple mountaineers towards the Latin Church, as bitter and fanatic as that displayed in the early ages of that schism, which has made hereditary enemies of the professors of the two creeds.

These feelings of mutual detestation I found entertained by their adversaries, the Latins, to the same extent; and as we must attribute them to the influence of their respective religious teachers, it is much to be deplored that, when inculcating the duty of faith, they did not remember the relative importance of the Christian graces, "the greatest of these is charity."

We cannot be surprized at the animosity exhibited by a Mahometan towards all who differ from him in belief, since charity is not enjoined in his code of

ethics, as a duty paramount to all others; and it is this fanatic zeal for persecution that constitutes the great difficulty in the administration of these provinces, which must be overcome, if possible, as it tends steadily and surely to undermine the authority of the Sultan.

Unfortunately the Osmanli is little changed in his religious feeling, in his contempt for a creed he despises as idolatrous, and that he considers openly to violate the command of God: "Thou shalt not bow down to any graven image, nor the likeness of anything that is in heaven or earth," and in permitting such a religion to prosper, believes he is sinning against heaven and against man.

The Rayah, therefore, has from time immemorial suffered every humiliation and outrage Mahometan fanaticism could inflict. How distressing must it be to a people to see their churches burnt, their altars defiled, and in every fresh encounter which may take place among the discontented Mussulmen against the Ottoman Porte—when the passions of each party are excited to fury, and the executive is powerless—however they may differ in other respects, both agree in perpetrating insult and outrage upon the person, the church, and the property of the Rayah. As an instance of this, I may mention, that in several towns through which I passed, such as Leskovatz, Vrania, &c., I beheld the churches of the Rayah, some partially devastated, and others burnt to the ground.

Notwithstanding the reforms of the Sultan have

already been productive of much good, too many causes of complaint, on the subject of religion, still remain unredressed. The Rayah can neither erect nor repair church or monastery without an especial firman from the Divan; and when, after repeatedly petitioning perhaps for several years, the request is conceded, an exorbitant charge is made for the permission. Again, the Government imposes on the Rayah, in the name of the Patriarch of Constantinople, a heavy hearth-tax for the maintenance of the higher order of the clergy of the Greek Church, reserving to itself the nomination of the bishops to certain districts, and to make matters worse, these dignities are sold by the Osmanli authorities to the highest bidders.

The political opinions of these high dignitaries are always supposed to be favorable to the Government, and as they are invariably Fanariot Greeks, ignorant of the language, customs and manners of the Slavonian subjects of the Sultan, their appointment is always in opposition to the wishes of the people, whose clergy they are called upon to govern. Nay, I have heard more than one radical Slavonian declare, they are little better than Government spies. Be this as it may, they exercise a very powerful control over the inferior clergy, who, for the most part imperfectly educated, simple in their manners, and unacquainted with the world, readily submit to the dictation of their superiors.

In addition to this tax, the Rayah provides for the working clergy, and contributes towards the support

of the monastery. This is done willingly, for they are a religiously disposed people; no man, however poor he may be, refusing his mite towards the maintenance of the Church. We may, therefore, well conceive that among this primitive people, where religion forms the base of all their customs, manners and institutions, the influence of the clergy is unbounded.

CHAPTER XII.

Spirit of the Greek Church—Superstition—Clergy—Religious festivals—Singular customs of the people—Traditions—Rivalry between the Greek and the Latin Church.

THE inhabitants of this mountain district, and indeed most of the Slavonian tribes, were evidently civilized by the Greeks at a very early epoch; whatever traces of refinement we meet with among them, whether here or on the steppes of Russia, the mountains of Illyria or the Karpathian, is of Greek origin.

The Athenian dance described by Homer, although somewhat modified, is still the dance of this people—the "Kolo." Even the "Pyrrhic" may be seen danced here, as well as in Tchernegoria, Bosnia and Albania. The whole of their superstitions, and their religion, they derived from the same source. The Vladica, or Patriarch of Constantinople, exercises an authority, in his spiritual character, greater than that of the Sultan: in him has been vested, by the people, the supreme jurisdiction, and from the decision of his tribunal there can be no appeal; for the laws of the Church are regarded

by every member of the Greek Church—whether in the Turkish, the Austrian, or the Russian empires—as the laws of God, and to its heaven-derived power everything temporal must submit.

The master-mind of Peter the Great, who was well acquainted with the religious tendencies of his people, controlled the influence of the patriarchs of the Greek Church, and, like our eighth Henry, invested himself with supreme ecclesiastical authority. What he so boldly commenced, his successors have perfected, and we now see a sovereign, who, in intellect and energy, has few equals—not only the ruler over a mighty people, but regarded as political pontiff by every man who professes the Greek ritual. It is needless to expatiate on the supineness evinced by the Princes of the house of Othman, with regard to the Greek Church; instead of resisting the various encroachments on the jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Constantinople, they have yielded to every demand of Russia, till at the present day we see but the shadow of a pontiff at Stamboul, while the substance exists at St. Petersburgh; this being the last suicidal act of an administration without tact or wisdom in all that relates to the civil and religious rights of its Christian subjects, and which, to a certain extent, they enjoy under the rule of the present Sultan.

It is to this union of the Church with the State, to this investing the sovereign, not only with the temporal, but the spiritual crown, with a power which, according to the tenets of this Church, cannot err, since it is divine in its origin, that we must attribute the absolute

dominion exercised by the Emperor of Russia over his subjects, and the implicit obedience they render him, who they recognize as combining in his own person the office of monarch and pontiff.

To this cause, again we must ascribe the immense accession of political and temporal influence acquired by Russia within the last century, exercised as it has been by consummate wisdom, and more than ordinary tact. An influence all-pervading, and which is felt not only within the limits of that empire, but in every country in which the Greek ritual prevails. Enter any temple dedicated to this form of worship, whether in European Turkey, or in the Austrian Empire, and you are nearly certain to find that some of the sacred ornaments, used in decorating the church, were donations from St. Petersburgh, and that the prayer-books, used in celebrating divine worship, were also sent from the Synod, on the banks of the Neva.

When we remember the severe persecution endured by the Greek Church during the all-powerful rule of the Latin Church, both in the early ages and a later date; when we remember the entire subjugation of every land professing the Greek ritual to the rule of the fanatic followers of Mahomet, Mongul Tatars, Nogay Tatars, and Turks, our admiration must be won for the constancy with which they clung to the religion of their fathers. Although assailed by persecution and death on one side, and on the other tempted by the allurements of riches and power, and a faith pre-eminently adapted to minister to the selfish desires of man, they now form not only the most numerous Christian Church in the

world, but from its exclusive character, the least exposed to the insidious seductions of our western philosophers, which character it acquired at an early epoch of its separation from the Latin. It was expressly forbidden by the Greek clergy, and indeed punished as heresy, for its members to read any religious work not written in the Cyrillic character, with the view to prevent them from being contaminated by the writings of their opponents. This irreconcilable schism, which divided Christendom into two hostile religious camps, has been the principal cause of the ruin of Papal Poland, by alienating from her rule her finest provinces, professing the Greek form of worship. History records many a dismal tale of the manner in which these unfortunate Poles of the Greek Church were persecuted by the dominant Latin Church, with fire and sword, till, driven to desperation, they annexed their country to the Russian empire.

Hungary also, in the days of its dominion and might, when its territories comprehended not only Hungary of the present day, but the fine provinces of Bosnia, Croatia, Servia and Bulgaria, extending from the Adriatic to the Black Sea; like Poland, armed with the authority of the dominant Church, sought to win over its erring subjects excommunicated by the Pope, to the fold of the true shepherd, by all those excesses and tyrannies considered justifiable in a dark, fanatic age; and how severe must have been the persecution, when an entire people in their agony were compelled to fly to arms, and call in the aid of the infidel Turk to assist them in expelling their Latin tyrants.

History records in many a bloody page, the horrible wars this event gave rise to, in bringing the fanatic followers of the Crescent into immediate contact with a more dauntless soldiery of the Cross than the degenerate Christians of the Byzantine empire.

If we trace the history of the Slavonian race conforming to the Greek Church, their wars, and the religious persecutions they endured, whether in Russia, Turkey, Hungary or Austria, we shall find there is a tenacity of purpose, an indomitable perseverance in their character, which approaches to that of the Anglo-Saxon. Both are pre-eminently religious, and if the forms of worship of the one are more simple, and consequently more enlightened, the piety of the other may be termed the very poetry of religion, since it mingles with every action of life, however trifling.

This resemblance is strikingly displayed in the history of the English and Russian empires, and both people may date their greatest prosperity from the time when they invested their sovereign with spiritual as well as temporal power, when they united the Church and the State, that each might add to the strength and stability of the other. Hence, independent of all foreign ascendancy and priestly intrigue, they possessed the mighty lever—religion undivided—in their own hands, and at the same time extended their influence over their respective sectarians in every part of the globe; and while the other states of Europe, still clinging to the old system of dividing Church and State, subject to the domineering religious influences of a foreign priest, have remained stationary, they continue to make rapid

strides in political power, and it may be said of both, that they never undertook an enterprise which they did not carry out successfully. We have seen them both victorious over all their enemies, and by a succession of events become the two most powerful empires in the world; and they may be regarded at the present day as personifying the antagonistic principles—liberty and despotism, which has necessarily made them rivals, and may lead to important results in the crisis to which Europe is now approaching.

England, confessedly at the head of all constitutional freedom and enlightened civilization, confident in the excellence of her institutions, fearlessly receives the disaffected of every nation, the propagandists of every political opinion, relying for her safety from insurrection on the good sense of her people, and their experience, matured by centuries, of the value of rational liberty. Yet she cannot remain an indifferent spectator of what is passing in Europe, and to preserve her influence, she is obliged to support those Governments that have modelled their constitution on hers.

On the other hand, Russia, although formidable through the strength and ignorance of her people, professing for the most part the same creed, united by the same ties of kindred and language, and attached to a Prince, the Czar and Pontiff of their race, has yet to pass through the ordeal of constitutional change, necessarily entailed upon a people as they advance in civilization

and intelligence. She may close her territories to the intrusion of the political and religious opinions of her neighbours; but the human mind, whether individually or collectively, cannot remain stationary, and the advancement of knowledge in her people, which it is impossible for her to prevent, must operate its natural result—the modification and improvement of their religious and political institutions.

But to return to our mountaineers of Upper Moesia. Without attempting to criticize the religious forms of the Greek Church, and its superstitious tendencies, we must admit that it renders the people religious and virtuous, and being, as we before observed, linked with their superstitions and traditions, their amusements and employments of everyday life, we cannot feel surprized that its influence is powerful and all-pervading. How beautiful, nay, how invaluable, in these remote districts, are the simple truths of Christianity, which we see training this unsophisticated people to the practice of morality and virtue.

If many of their superstitions appear as remnants of Paganism they are never without a moral, and if we are disposed to ridicule the useless ceremonies with which their public worship is burdened, the gross ignorance of the people, and their clergy, we ought to remember that they are, for the most part, still subject to a power that has proved in all ages the direst enemy to their faith, allowing them no other temple in which to cele-

brate divine service than the lonely cavern—the mountain summit. But even in their present position, how much happier are they, than the miserable unbeliever of more civilized countries; firmly convinced of the divine origin of their Church, they pass through life undisturbed by uncertainty and doubt, and die resigned, relying on the blessed hope of an existence in a better world.

Although these Papas of the Greek Church are not distinguished for their high attainments in theology, many of them are models of piety and good conduct; and as they are allowed by their Church to marry, they mingle with the people upon every occasion, share with them the same cares and interest, the same joys and sorrows, and without being too austere, set an example of industry, sobriety and morality. They are to be met with at every festive board and entertainment; and without joining in the dance of the people, it is easy to perceive in their laughing good-humoured countenances, how heartily they sympathize with their amusements.

During the frenzy of Turkish persecution, when the clergy were hunted like wild beasts by the ferocious soldiery of the Crescent, they continued to celebrate with an exertion almost superhuman the rites of the Church; now in the recesses of the cavern, and again in the fastnesses of their native mountain, the hymn of worship rose to heaven.

Nor was it alone by performing divine service, that they

proved themselves worthy members of the church militant; wherever the battle raged, there were the clergy, the daring leaders of their followers; and many a piesma is still related recording the gallant deeds of the Pope (papa). In truth, the preservation of Christianity in these provinces, may in a great measure be ascribed to the exertions of these champions of the Christian faith, and the result naturally is, that they exercise the most unbounded influence over the minds of the people, which is aided by the manner in which they sympathize with their interests, their amusements and their innocent superstitions.

We will proceed to sketch a few of these superstitions, and the manner in which the people observe the great festivals of the Greek Church, which will serve to illustrate their piety, and show how intimately religion is identified with their customs and manners, and although with some modifications they are common to every nationality professing the Greek ritual, may be seen in greater purity among a rural population like this, far removed from the great world. The feast of St. George (Sveti Tjordji) is one of the most popular, and always peculiarly welcome to an agricultural and pastoral people like our mountaineers, for then winter with all its *désagremens* has given way to life-giving spring. The anxiety with which the *fête* day of this renowned warrior is anticipated is great, indeed; for should it be fair and sunny, certain prosperity and happiness may

be expected for the ensuing year; if, on the contrary, it proves to be wet and stormy, some public calamity is universally dreaded. Happy, simple-minded Slavons, they have an antidote in prayer against every impending evil, additional invocations by the Holy Papa cannot, as they consider, fail in averting the calamity. In truth, the good man has no sinecure, since his prayers are invoked by all classes. The young girls ask for handsome husbands; the newly-married for pretty babies, and that they may be beloved by their husbands.

In order to render the prayers of the Papa more efficacious, the saint must be propitiated; and as no offering is more acceptable to the gallant knight than the first flowers of spring, all those who have any petition to make, any prayer to be granted, repair to the woods and fields, and in his name cull, at earliest dawn, on the day of his festival, the most beautiful flowers they can find, which are worn as bouquets in the hair of the women, and in the girdles of the men, when they assemble in the house of prayer.

Nor is the good man of the house less anxious than the fairer members of his family to propitiate the all-powerful saint; a lamb is roasted in honour of his *fête*, the blood is solemnly spilled at the door, in his name, which superstition believes to be an infallible safeguard against the entrance of all that is evil.

The anniversary of our Lord's birth, and His resurrection, are observed with every demonstration of

religious rejoicing: on these occasions the fervent piety of the people is publicly evinced, and a most interesting scene is presented to the observation of the stranger. Those towns and districts where there are churches or convents, are crowded with worshippers, for nothing but sickness will prevent both hoary age and lisping infancy from attending public service on these sacred days.

In localities where there is no church, as in this district of Upper Moesia, some lonely retreat, already sacred to the performance of religious worship, is sought in the mountains, and a temporary shed erected, which serves as a substitute, and all the population, however inclement the weather may be, repair thither to offer up their devotions.

On Easter-eve, as the clock strikes twelve, and the great festival commences, silence, the most solemn, pervades the assembly, when suddenly, the loud voice of the Papa is heard exclaiming: "Christos Voskrs," (Christ is risen), which is responded to by the entire multitude with the sound as of a crash of thunder, exclaiming: "Vo-istino Voskrs," (He is risen); then, as if rendered happy by the glad tidings, each man embraces his neighbour, and divides with him the Easter cake, blessed by the Papa; at the same time, where the ceremony can be practised with safety, without alarming the Turks, a loud discharge of fire-arms is heard echoing from mountain to mountain, from village to village, throughout the entire land.

After the Papa has pronounced his benediction, the assembly disperse; but as gas has not yet travelled thus far, to illumine the streets, much less the path-ways and by-ways of European Turkey, each person carries with him a paper lantern, gaudily painted, and lighted with a wax-taper blessed by the Papa. It is now that the war of the paschal eggs commences; these novel missiles, having been previously roasted till they are quite hard, the object of each person is to break the egg of his neighbour without destroying his own; and those whose eggs withstand the concussion, draw a favourable augury of long life and prosperity.

The season of Easter is one of great festivity; the poorest man sacrifices his paschal lamb at the shrine of hospitality, he keeps open house, and whether friend or enemy, all are welcome; rivers of raki and wine flow in every direction, and each man seems to have but one object in view, to eat, drink, and be merry. "Dobro dosli! Na'sdravi," welcome, is on every lip, and who is there, will not share the bounty of heaven, with his fellow-men, in remembrance of the "Lord having risen from the dead." At this holy season all enmities cease, or if a permanent reconciliation cannot be effected, at least, all outward demonstrations of bad feeling are avoided.

After Easter our Lord's week commences—the week of prayer and thanksgiving. The greatest criminal now repairs to his church, and humbles himself at the altar

of his creed; injuries are mutually forgiven and atoned for, since the words "did not the Lord forgive His enemies, and die to redeem us all?" is heard from every lip. Pilgrimages are made to the "city of their ancestors," the cemetery, prayers are said for the dead, and orations pronounced over the graves of those whose virtues had rendered them, during life, the objects of the respect and admiration of their fellow-men.

During this week marriages are celebrated, friendly alliances contracted between tribe and tribe, brotherhood, the Probatim, established between private individuals, and the Prosestrina between women, when they adopt each other as brothers and sisters for the ensuing year, or for life. In short, every act of importance is concluded during a week sanctified as "the week of our Lord." Christmas Day is ushered in with similar rejoicings; the churches are crowded, and in the same manner as at Easter, when the midnight hour is passed, the solemn voice of the Papa is heard exclaiming "Mir Bojii, Christos se rodi!" (Glory be to God; Christ is born!) which is responded to by the whole congregation, "Mir Bojii, Vaistinou rodi!" (Glory be to God, He is really born!) At the same moment, all present embrace each other, and every one presents his friend or neighbour with a portion of the cake of unleavened bread blessed by the Papa.

They then return home, discharging their fire-arms, and, as at Easter, invite their friends, and proceed to

celebrate the banquet of some animal roasted whole, this being one of the peculiarities that distinguishes the Christmas festival, and as at Easter, the inhabitants of the different towns and villages visit each other, rejoice and make merry. Still there is one superstition observed at the Christmas festival, which I believe is only practised among these mountaineers, and which probably originated in the earliest times of Paganism.

The wood selected for roasting the animal destined for celebrating the Christmas feast, must be no other than the sacred oak, and not only is it necessary that care should be taken in choosing it, but that it should be felled at the proper season. The wood, after performing its duty, is left to smoulder on the hearth, and woe betide that house in which it should become extinguished before sunrise. At this time the whole of the family assemble in a circle round the smouldering oak, anxiety pictured on every countenance, awaiting the arrival of the Papa, or some neighbour, to perform a ceremony so full of hope or fear for the future. The visitor enters, and having crossed himself most devoutly, offers up a short prayer; he then lifts his walking-stick, which must also be a sapling of the same sacred tree, and strikes the smouldering oak, exclaiming at the same time, with great solemnity of voice and manner:

"Even as the sparks fly up and around, may the prosperity of this house and tribe increase, and as they

are numberless, may their lands yield abundance, their flocks and herds multiply, and their children's children be virtuous and grow in numbers for all generations yet to come."

After this important service is concluded, every fragment of the smouldering oak is carefully collected, and preserved as talismans to protect their cattle from disease, and themselves from the evil eye; nay, some portion is even placed in the corn-fields, and near the fruit trees, that the blight may not destroy them.

Great importance is also attached to the annual visit of the swallow and the stork, particularly the latter: happy indeed is the family whose house-top this most solemn bird selects as his summer residence, his advent is welcomed by a banquet, to which the master of the house invites his friends, that they may rejoice with him on his felicitious prospects for the ensuing year. Even the house-dog, that generally displays his barking enmity to every stranger, wags his tail with pleasure, as he looks up and recognizes the friend of last year, notwithstanding they had so often quarrelled over their dish of mamolinga.

The prophet Elijah is canonized under the title of Sveti Elia, and is presumed to exercise a dominion over thunder and lightning, probably because he ascended to heaven in a chariot of fire. His *fête* commences about the middle of July, and it is of course the interest of an

agricultural people to win the favour of a saint, who holds the power of hurling the bolts of heaven upon their orchards and corn-fields.

Another very popular superstition of this people is observed at the Epiphany. At midnight, when the *fête* commences, they repair to the woods and fields to witness the opening of heaven, believing that at this time their prayers are certain to be heard, and every wish granted.

The agriculturists celebrate the advent of spring, and the last day of harvest, by public rejoicing, and the shepherds the annual increase of their flocks and herds; they also observe the festival of St. John, when the shearing season commences. A grand procession of the shepherds then takes place, carrying banners, with the image of the saint painted on them, and lighted flambeaus; thus singing in chorus, they proceed to their flocks and herds, and plentifully sprinkle them with holy water, in order to protect them from disease, the bad genii, and the evil eye. After this important ceremony is over, and now that no danger can reach them, they repair to the hills, light immense fires, and spend the day in feasting and dancing.

The Annunciation, Pripoviiest, is the *fête* of the young maidens, who assemble at break of day, decorated with flowers, to chant hymns in honour of the Panagia, and dance the kolo on the banks of some clear running

stream, typical of her who was the model of virgin purity.

If the country should be affected with a drought, the Papa and elders of the commune select a certain number of girls under fifteen years of age, not forgetting to choose the most distinguished for personal attractions, to implore their patroness, and all the saints, to intercede for rain to refresh their dying crops. In order, however, to render their prayers more effectual, the maidens exchange their usual garments for others made of the leaves and flowers of such plants as grow in marshy districts. This is intended to represent to the Queen of Heaven that they are obliged to resort to these for clothing, and if the marshes should be dried up, they have no other resource. One of these maidens who, for her superior beauty and vocal powers, is selected as their queen, marches at the head of her followers, singing a hymn composed for the occasion, the others joining in chorus; they dance before each dwelling, till one of the inmates throws over them a pitcher of water, and thus they continue proceeding from house to house, chanting and singing.

The Panagia is much venerated among these mountaineers, each dwelling has a picture of her, besides the household saint, which, from a dread of the religious persecutions they formerly endured, and the fear of some fanatic Turk seeing them, are kept concealed, and

only make their appearance on the eve of some festival and on Sundays. An altar is then prepared in some conspicuous situation of the house, a lamp lighted, and incense burned before the shrine, and the whole ceremony of the Greek forms of worship performed, with a decent solemnity perfectly astonishing to a stranger; the patriarch of the house officiating as Papa, when his family and tribe are the congregation. Thus we see, though the Turk may deprive the Rayah of a public place of worship, he cannot prevent him from exercising the rites of his creed, since his own hut serves him as a temple.

Although we cannot admire many of the forms of the Greek Church, it is impossible to withhold our approbation on witnessing such an exhibition of fervent piety as this. Still, it must be confessed that the traveller on such occasions, unless a member of the same creed, is placed in an awkward position, since he is obliged to remain a silent spectator, or absent himself from the family worship; in either case he excites a doubt as to whether he really is a Christian—these zealots, like those of every other creed, believing their own to be the only true faith, never fail to denounce those who dissent from it as djourski (heretics).

The tradition transmitted from father to son of the persecutions they suffered from the intolerance of the Latin Church is still preserved, and the same deadly

hatred exists now as formerly. Consequently no other creed is regarded with such abhorrence as the Latinski. Whether we commune with the simple mountaineer, or the more enlightened denizen of the town, we unhappily find them all entertaining the same want of charity, the same aversion. The churches of the rival creed, ornamented with statues, are condemned as temples of idolatry, the service of the mass as a drama acted by the clergy, forgetting that while they forbid the homage to the graven image, they render to their own painted saints a reverence equal to any ever offered by the most ignorant and bigoted Roman Catholic to his miracle-working image. How forcibly are we convinced of the truth, when we study the character of these Slavonian zealots, or of any fanatic people, that persecution, instead of converting man to the faith of his adversary, only attaches him still more strongly to his own; whereas, leave him in the full enjoyment of religious liberty, and it is highly probable that security will generate indifference on those very points of belief—to maintain which he would formerly have died. We have only to cross these mountains of Upper Moesia, where we are now travelling, into the Free State of Tchernegoria, and we shall find a church in every village, with two hundred priests to a population of a hundred thousand; but, notwithstanding this array of priestly influence, the population are considerably more liberal in

their religious opinions, and laugh heartily at the infatuated superstition and bigotry of their brethren subject to the rule of the Turk.

Again, the inhabitants of Modern Greece and Servia, now that there is no Turkish ruler with the sword of blind fanatic zeal in his hand to coerce their religious opinions, have had leisure to ponder over many of the superstitious observances of their Church, which they consider might be dispensed with. This disposition to investigate must increase as they advance in intelligence; and as a commencement of reform, they have discovered that the number of fast-days they are called upon to observe is unreasonable, and certainly prejudicial to the health of the body, whatever they may be to that of the soul!

The Greek Church imposes upon her members the duty of fasting with greater severity than any creed or form of worship whatever. The number of days of abstinence during the year amount to a hundred and eighty-five, and so rigorously are they enjoined to be kept, that during several weeks neither animal food, fish, eggs, butter nor cheese are allowed to be eaten, unless a dispensation is granted by the Bishop—a somewhat expensive indulgence. This severe self-denial exercises a most deleterious influence on the moral, and in many instances a fatal effect on the physical, character of the people.

In addition to the number of fast days, there are one

hundred and twenty-five dedicated to different saints, who must be propitiated. Each commune, village, or tribe has its own patron saint, and all these mediators are actively engaged in advancing the welfare of the suppliants, not only in heaven but in our sublunary planet. Poor simple people, they anticipate the advent of the saint's-day with unbounded pleasure, believing that in celebrating his *fête* they are securing the offices of a powerful friend and mediator.

The *fête* of Sveti Sava, the son of Nomania, one of the ancient Krals of Servia, is celebrated by the Servians in every part of European Turkey with great solemnity. The shrine of this Prince at Meleshevo, in Herzegowina, who it appears was equally renowned for his piety, patriotism, and miracles, continued to be the object of a pilgrimage, till the Turks, finding that so large an assemblage of people had a political tendency, in order to show their contempt for the religion and superstitions of the Rayahs, caused the embalmed remains of the saint to be publicly hung, and then burned by the hangman at Belgrade in 1595. The sacrilege, however, led to a most frightful insurrection of the Servian nationality, but of which we have no record, save in the popular piesmas of the bard.

CHAPTER XIII.

Early history and government of the Greek Church—The reforming Kral of Servia—Peter of Russia—Venality of the Greek clergy—Their revenues—How derived—Abuses of the Church—Education—Character of the Turks—Greeks and Slavonians—General observations.

THE clergy of the Greek Church may be divided into two classes—the Hieromonachi, who take the vow of celibacy, comprehending the high dignitaries of the church, and the monastic orders. The secular clergy, Kosmoipapades, or papas, who are allowed to marry previous to their ordination.

In the earliest ages of Christianity, the Eastern Church recognized the authority of four patriarchs, those of Alexandria, Antioch, Jerusalem, and Constantinople, who, according to the institutions of the church, were to be equal in rank and power. Constantinople, however, was so long the seat of a powerful empire, that its Patriarch, supported by the Emperors,

gradually acquired supreme power, dispensing laws, and ruling kings, with a power equal to that exercised by the Roman Pontiff, and which extended over the greatest part of Asia, the east of Europe, and the vast countries now included in the empire of Russia. When the Byzantine empire declined in power, the dominion of the Patriarch declined also, and he met with his first defeat from the monk, Sava, brother to the Kral of Servia, Stephan Nemanowich, at the commencement of the eleventh century; that powerful prince compelled the haughty primate at a synod, held at Nicée, to recognize his brother as metropolitan of Servia.

A century later, Stephan Douschan, the greatest of all the Servian Krals, having added Bulgaria, Albania and part of Macedonia to his dominions, publicly declared the Patriarch of Servia to be independent in spiritual matters of the Primate of Constantinople. In consequence of this impious step, the Kral, his Patriarch, and all the clergy who adhered to him ,were excommunicated, and the people absolved of their allegiance to their Prince. Kral Stephan appears to have been a man of mettle, a species of Harry of England; for he instantly flew to arms, and marched on Constantinople, threatening to dethrone Emperor and Primate unless the ban was immediately removed.

The Patriarch of Constantinople, having granted all the demands of the warlike Kral, continued to maintain his power, such as it was, undisturbed till the advent of

Peter the First of Russia, who destroyed for ever his political and temporal power; for though he is still an object of the deepest veneration to every pious member of the Greek Church, who obey his mandate as emanating from on high, his influence is merely of a spiritual character, and secondary to that of the Emperors of Russia, who, having added the dignity of Pontiff to that of Czar, appropriate to themselves a power the most irresistible, perhaps, that ever was wielded by one man over so many millions of human beings. This power, however, like every other based on ignorance, cannot be enduring; the Greek Church has yet to sustain the attack which increased civilization and enlightenment will make against many of its usages and much of its discipline, and which will sooner or later divest it of those superstitious observances that assimilate towards Paganism, and restore it to the simple purity required by Christianity.

If we trace the history of the Oriental Church, commencing at the assumption of all spiritual power by the Greek primates, we shall find from that period may be dated the lamentable error of wedding Christianity to the popular superstitions and sensual practices of the various nations successively converted to Christianity; the heads of the Church having, it would appear, but one object in view, the increase of their own political and temporal power.

The Greeks even in their best days, however much

they might have excelled other nations in refinement, were never famous for morality, to which they added a great deal of bigotry and superstition; and wherever they extended their conversions, we find traces of their rule in the character, manners and customs of the people, whom they imbued with their own spirit. The fall of nations, as well as individuals, is always accelerated by their own misconduct; and so utterly debased had this people become, and besotted in superstition—so devoid of public virtue, and all manhood, that at the siege of Constantinople, they exhibited the mournful spectacle of a people imploring the aid of saints and angels in their temples of worship, instead of boldly meeting the foe man to man, and, until the last moment, expected the arrival of a host of heavenly warriors who were to annihilate the infidels.

Happily, for the future welfare of the Oriental Church, now that its Greek Patriarchs have, as it were, resigned their spiritual rule into the hands of a line of princes, of a different race, who undoubtedly have shown great tact in the art of governing, there is a hope, that since the Oriental Church does not profess to be a cult, stationary and infallible, like the Church of Rome, that the axe will be laid to the root of these superstitious observances, which are incompatible with an advanced state of intelligence and civilization; and truly, with so many examples of the futility of attempting to chain down the intellect of man, either by persecution or the inqui-

sition, we may fain hope that the rulers of the Church will acquiesce in the necessity of reforming its abuses.

It is not by miracle-working shrines, the canonization and intercession of saints, and all the mummery of the dark ages, that men can be trained to the practice of religion and virtue, but by a well-grounded, well-conducted system of education, which will gradually prepare them to relinquish the unmeaning forms, the superstitious ceremonies, engrafted on the simple truths of Christianity. Let those who would maintain the Greek Church in its present state, without reform, look at the Latin Church, and then turn to England, and the most prejudiced man, whatever may be his creed or country, must come to the conclusion, that she owes her position to the circumstance, that she has modelled the institutions of her church in obedience to the demand made by the intellectual progress of her people; and what a proof is it of the divine origin of Christianity, that we see the most civilized and enlightened people in the universe, at the same time, the most moral and religious.

While we condemn the tendency to bigotry and superstition in this or that creed or people, we must, however, feel gratified at observing, that, notwithstanding the errors we deplore, it is owing to their institutions being based upon Christianity, that the Rayahs of these provinces have been preserved from barbarism, and rendered moral and virtuous. Every man is born with

the instincts of religion; in the infancy of his faith, he is an enthusiast, and superstitious; but as he passes through the various grades of intellectual cultivation, he reflects on the forms and ceremonies he has been accustomed to reverence, and if they are not consonant with his advanced intellect, rejects them as frivolous and unmeaning, philosophizes, and too often becomes an infidel; and as it is with man individually, so it is with the Church collectively.

The Agios Synodos of Constantinople, still exercises a considerable power over that portion of the Oriental Church within the dominions of the Sultan. This assembly consists of a certain number of the highest dignitaries of the Church, in whom is vested the power of electing the Patriarch, and who constitute the highest ecclesiastical tribunal. In conjunction with the Patriarch, they impose the taxes necessary for the maintenance of the Church, appoint and consecrate the bishops; but as the Sultan reserves to himself a veto, he can annul the nomination, which always requires a firman to render it legal.

In Turkey, where money is omnipotent, the same venality is practised in the administration of the Oriental Church, as in everything else. The ecclesiastical appointments, from that of the Patriarch down to the village Papa, are bought and sold at the usual marketable value. Then the exactions of the Divan must be complied with. It is but natural that the

Turkish Government should be satisfied with the political opinions of the various candidates for ecclesiastical preferment; this can always be affected by the eloquent pleadings of money. Hence the degree of toleration, such as it is, enjoyed by the Rayahs from the earliest ages of Turkish rule, their wealth and industry being one of the surest fountains from which to draw when funds were required.

When the appointments of the Church are made from a mercenary motive, no good result can follow; but here, to aggravate the evil, the administration is confided entirely to members of the Greek nationality—a people who are not celebrated for being scrupulously honest when money is in the way: consequently, it is not talent or theological attainments which causes an Episkopos to be preferred to a diocese, or a Kosmoipapades to a commune, but the weight of his purse.

The bishops, always selected from some monastic order, are too often extremely superstitious and ignorant; but the papas, especially those in the Slavonian provinces, though really pious and virtuous, frequently cannot even write their name, and recite the service of the Church in the same nasal tone as a schoolboy repeats his lesson. The sacerdotal profession being generally hereditary in families, the customary fee is paid to the bishop on ordination, and no questions are asked. As for an examination, with reference to learning, divinity,

and such other qualifications as are necessary in a clergyman, it is deemed altogether superfluous.

The revenues of the Church are partly derived from old church property that escaped the rapacity of the Turks, or was secured by treaties, the donations of pious individuals, some funded property, and an annual hearth-tax; but the amount of this is trifling compared with the other sources of its income. This arises from the fees paid for religious ordinances—the ordination of the clergy, baptism, marriage, burial, extreme unction, prayers, masses for the souls of the departed, the ordinary service of the mass, the sale of consecrated wax-candles, of holy water, holy cakes, absolution and various other holy objects too numerous to mention.

It is certain an unendowed Church must resort to the voluntary offerings of its members for supporting its clergy; but it is the abuse to which the system gives rise, that excites the wish that some other mode of providing for the clergy could be devised. The papa of the commune is obliged to contribute to the support of the bishop, the bishop to that of the high dignitaries, and these to the patriarch, and in order to provide funds for all these wants and claims, unhappily, much charlatanism is resorted to. Absurd stories are circulated, far and wide, of the miracles wrought at some celebrated shrine, of the sudden appearance of the Virgin, or saints and angels, diseases cured by the influence of

relics, the marvellous effects of particular amulets, the necessity of making pilgrimages and processions to this or that holy place, all of which are regarded as legitimate sources of wealth to the clergy.

A thousand opportunities are afforded to the higher clergy, in their visitations to their dioceses, to increase their revenues. Their benediction is to be pronounced on all the new houses, on the fields of the husbandman, on the valleys and mountains of the shepherd, on the rivers; the sick are to be healed by the efficacy of their prayers, masses to be said for the repose of the dead, noxious reptiles and vermin to be excommunicated, the guilty to be absolved, the evil spirit to be chased from the maniac, &c.

These abuses tend to degrade the clergy, encourage superstition, and debase the people—the natural result of a church having no certain income, and existing on the alms of the laity; consequently, it excites our admiration, when we find here and there among the higher clergy men of rare theological attainments, and of unexceptionable moral character, and who, in the bitterness of spirit, mourn over the debasement of their Church.

The deplorable picture we have drawn is by no means exaggerated; the system of leaving the administration solely to the Greeks, thus excluding every member of the Slavonian race from filling any office in the Church, except that of an inferior, has ever been the aim of the

Turkish Government. Confiding in the acknowledged antipathy of the two races, and it may be in the venality of the Greek, the Divan calculated there could be no danger to Turkish rule, so long as the Slavonian nationality were not preferred to the dignities of the Church. The system has answered too well; the Greek fulfilled the injunction of the Divan with greater alacrity, because, by engrossing all the learning and power of the Church ,he was advancing his own nationality, and gradually paving the way for it to assume the lead, and perhaps to rule, in a country so exposed to accidents as Turkey. To this cause we must ascribe the utter ignorance of the Slavonian Papa, and the indifference manifested as to the attainments of those who are ordained ministers of the Church.

Notwithstanding all this preventive wisdom, the example of independent Servia may show that the eloquence of an unlettered Haiduc can set it at nought, may show what a people can achieve who are at once united and brave; and the Sultan ought to remember, that of the eight millions of Rayahs in these provinces of his empire, at least six are of the Slavonian race. They may be ignorant and superstitious, still their intellect is not so obtuse but they know how to appreciate and applaud a patriotic orator when the subject is popular; and how lamentably has this poor people been neglected, both by their superior clergy and the government, since I can with truth affirm that

during my long excursions in these provinces, I frequently found whole districts and communes where not a single peasant could be found that knew his letters; and as to religion, they may be said to owe their knowledge of it to the tradition of their fathers, and whatever instruction the unlettered Papa could give them in his professional character of hereditary priest of his tribe or commune, never seeing or hearing of the superior clergy, except at the season of collecting the revenue.

We have said that the Slavonian, although steeped in religious superstition, is by nature and principle morally disposed, if he is not so vivacious and familiar with the great world as the mercurial Greek, who has the advantage of being, to a certain degree, educated. I ever found him to possess considerable natural talent, and the desire he evinced to become acquainted with our arts and sciences, shows he would become an apt scholar if the means of instruction were afforded him. How numerous were the inquiries for information made to me by the agriculturist and shepherd with respect to our implements of husbandry, our system of agriculture and horticulture, the management of our flocks and herds—in short, everything relating to that wonderful country, Frangistan.

The Turkish Government must be prepared, by every possible means, to conciliate its millions of Christian subjects, their discontent is becoming every day more general; the old system of rendering subser-

vient to its support, the differences existing in the nationalities and creeds of its subjects, the animosity entertained by the Greek towards the Slavonian, by the Slavonian towards the Greek, and by the Turk towards both, will not form the safeguard it anticipates.

When the stability of a government rests upon no surer foundation than the disunion of its people, its preservation is certainly problematical, the slightest accident may excite a storm that will prove its destruction; at all events, a wise government will rely on the more numerous class of its subjects. It is not sufficient to issue a hatti-sheriff, declaring that the church of the Rayah shall not be molested, and that he is permitted to establish schools, more substantial proofs are required from a government of its sympathy than mere words. Churches should be erected in all the Rayah communes; a decent maintenance provided for the clergy, and sufficient funds for the support of schools. Nothing tends more to the well-being of a country and the advancement of religion, than a well-educated, independent clergy.

The voluntary system practised here and elsewhere, has a tendency to destroy the independence of the clergy, and of tempting them to have recourse to expedients utterly unworthy of the position they occupy; it also induces them to keep the people in ignorance lest they should detect the fallacy of many of the lessons they are taught.

The union of the Church with the State, the investing the monarchs with supreme control and jurisdiction in all that relates to the church, is a feature in the Oriental Church peculiarly favourable to the interests of the Sultan. We have already referred to this in the case of the Kral of Servia, and the Emperors of Russia. Even the little State of Tchernegora is governed by its Vladica, who owes no spiritual obedience to the Patriarch of Constantinople. Modern Greece, and Servia, have also their ecclesiastical pontiffs equally independent; and although the Emperor of Russia takes the title of Pontiff, yet according to the spirit of the Oriental Church, he ought not to exercise any spiritual jurisdiction over the Church out of his own dominions; he is merely the acknowledged protector of his co-religionists, in his character as the most powerful Prince of his creed.

Owing to this feature in the ecclesiastical polity of the Greek Church, the rejection of all foreign influence in its administration, the Sultan, as sovereign, has the ability, by a judicious system of reform in the Church, greatly to ameliorate the condition of his Rayah subjects. If lands were appropriated to the maintenance of the clergy—and this could easily be done by a sovereign who is the sole lord of the soil—they would then neither be dependent on the voluntary or compulsory contributions of their flocks, which, as we have already shown, has a most mischievous tendency; nor

yet become hirelings of the state, its instruments to further its political views, which is too likely to be the consequence, when a clergy are supported at the cost of a government.

Independently of the abuses we have already specified, many instances might be adduced of the viciousness of the system, and how severely it presses upon the poor Rayah, who, although left solely to the religious guidance of the village Papa, and the Starachin, and without a temple of public worship, must, nevertheless, contribute to the support of the higher clergy. How often have I seen the pandour, and the collector of a Greek bishop, armed with the authority of the patriarch, which is equal to that of the Sultan in the opinion of the people, seize, for church dues, the grain, wine, oil, and cattle of some particular tribe or commune, with a rapacity equal to that of the most merciless Pacha.

Again, the schools, recently established in some of the towns and populous communes for the education of the people, being entirely under the jurisdiction of the higher clergy, a Greek Didiskali, is appointed to instruct the children of Slavonian parents, who do not comprehend a syllable of his language. Here, however, Panslavism has stepped in to combat Panhellenism, for Slavonian teachers have been sought among the educated Slavonian population of Austria, to replace the Greek Didiskali.

Such is the situation of this unfortunate country; each nationality, calculating on the destruction of the Turk, has but one aim, that of rising to supreme power on the ruins of the Turkish monarchy. With so many enemies seeking its downfall, how necessary is it that the Sultan should make a vigorous effort to conciliate his Rayah subjects. Indecision, or weakness in grappling with an evil, however insurmountable it may appear, is dangerous in a ruler; and the Sultan would do well to direct his attention to the enlightened despotism of the Emperor of Russia, where he will see at least four millions of Mahometans living in the complete enjoyment of religious freedom; he will see them provided with mosques, schools, and a decent maintenance for their clergy, uncontrolled either in their customs or manners; in short, placed upon a perfect equality with the Christian population. How often, while travelling in Krim Tartary, and those countries on the Caspian and the Black Sea, have I heard these children of the Crescent express their gratitude towards the Czar, and when they compared the security they enjoyed with the state of their brethren in Persia and Turkey, felt thankful to Providence that had placed them under the rule of an executive that knew how to make itself respected.

Having wandered much in the country both of the Greek and the Slavon, and mingled in familiar intercourse with the two people, we were forced to

come to the conclusion, unbiassed either by prejudice or partiality, that the Greek character does not possess those elements required in a people called upon to rule. There is far more truth and natural virtue in the Turk and the Slavonian—a fact which reveals itself to the observation of the traveller in a thousand ways.

In the character of the Turk and the Slavonian, there are many points of resemblance—the same patriarchal habits and manners, the same hospitality, the same rough, honest bearing in their demeanour, which inspires you with the confidence, that in reposing in their faith you will not be deceived; and if we trace the history of the Turk from the time of the virtuous Othman, and his horde of valiant shepherds, to the day when his race firmly seated themselves on the Bosphorus, we shall find them practising many virtues. It was not until they became captivated with the usages of the conquered race, and moulded their simple, equitable laws after those of the more subtle Greek, and imbibed his venal and rapacious spirit, that they became degenerated.

Peter of Russia, in the difficult task of civilizing his people, had only to contend with their barbarism, since they were for the most part of one race and of the same faith; whereas the Sultan has a people composed of various nationalities, professing creeds the most hostile, obstinately wedded to the most absurd prejudices, and arrived at that point of semi-civilization when man,

satisfied with his own proficiency, resolutely denies the necessity of further advancement.

With so many obstacles to surmount, so many reforms required to correct the abuses, the misrule of centuries, it must be admitted the situation of Turkey is most critical. At enmity with her Mussulman population, she sees that great arm of her strength withered, without, on the other hand, having gained the confidence of her Christian subjects; since, by persecuting their Church for centuries, a hatred, now become hereditary, has been engendered in the people, who regard with suspicion the sincerity of the intentions which have dictated the various reforms of the government, and will continue to do so, as long as they see themselves at the mercy of an executive purely Mussulman.

The Sultan may issue hatti-sheriff after hatti-sheriff, invest Christian and Mussulman with equal civil rights, abolish the privileges of the Spahi, curb the rapacity and oppression of the Pacha, it avails nothing; the canker still remains, and must continue eating into the vitals of the State, until there is a thorough change—a thorough reform in everything relating to the political, religious, and social state of the Rayah. The distinction between him and the Mussulman must be removed; the Sultan must govern all his subjects, whatever may be their creed or nationality, impartially; they must be equally eligible to rank and office; churches must be built for the Christians, as well as mosques for the Mahometan;

seminaries endowed for them; the clergy rendered independent; and by elevating to power the Patriarch of Constantinople, as supreme pontiff of the Oriental Church, become, as it were, his Grand Vizier in spiritual affairs between him and his Christian subjects. Unless this is done, France may threaten, and Great Britain fill the Bosphorus, the Dardanelles and the Grecian Seas with her ships of war, but they cannot prevent internal insurrection, and, it may be, the Emperor of Russia, from calling to arms, in his character of political pontiff, a people the most fanatic and superstitious of any existing.

I do not pretend to say that the patriarchal democrats of European Turkey, even of the Slavonian race, would accept the Czar of the North as their sovereign; I think they are too republican in their opinions and tendencies—too much attached to their own peculiar laws and customs, and which, to a certain extent, they enjoy under the rule of the Sultan, to submit to the bureaucracy and enlightened despotism of Russia, however much it might improve their condition. It is not alone to the political question, of "What is to be done with Turkey?" that we would direct the attention of the humane and enlightened reader, but to the chaos which must succeed on the dissolution of Turkish rule in these provinces; when all the fiercest passions of man's nature—religious bigotry and national prejudice would then, unrestrained, burst forth, and kindle a flame,

whose final extinction may be no easy task. Even the Emperor of Russia, however desirous he might be to establish himself on the ruins of the Turkish empire in these provinces, must shrink from the undertaking of taming down the wild spirits of Albania and Greece, the inveterate enemies of his race, who, together with the Arnouts and the Mussulman warriors of Bosnia, by intrenching themselves in the fastnesses of their native mountains, would be enabled to convert the country into a second Caucasus.

It is easier to re-model a government, than to construct a new one; and since the Sultan still holds the sceptre, every humane and enlightened government, apart from political motives, should lend its aid and counsel him in carrying out such effective measures of reform as may be necessary to allay the irritation existing among the Rayah population, without which the regeneration of the Ottoman empire must be regarded as a chimerical vision. In the first place, it is evident, those absurd laws of the Koran, founded in superstition and ignorance, and which exclude the Christian from all political rights, must be abrogated; and till that barrier, raised by religious fanaticism, which elevated one class of the people, and degraded the other, is entirely removed, the power of the Sultan, in this part of his empire, rests on a volcano.

With every desire to amend the condition of the Rayah, the evil still remains—religious prejudice and

caste—to frustrate the intentions of the most just and equitable government, and must continue, so long as the laws are administered by a fanatic ignorant Mussulman. The traveller is daily reminded of this, in his intercourse with Turk and Rayah—in the one he sees an overbearing arrogance, and in the other a humiliating degradation. In obedience to the old Mahometan laws, a Rayah is restricted from using certain colours when he paints his house, or decorates his person. He is not permitted to enter a town on horseback, if it is the residence of a Turkish dignitary; should he meet with one during his route, he must descend till he passes, or escape by another direction; the meanest Turk holds the power to send him on an errand, or make him carry a package; if struck by one, he dare not resent the injury; and should he by chance meet a Turkish lady, he is not allowed to look at her, since it is possible he may blight her good fortune with the evil eye.

It is true, the higher class of Rayahs, such as merchants and traders, inhabitants of towns, aware of their newly-acquired rights, do not humiliate themselves in presence of a Mussulman; but the poor Rayah of the village and the commune, ignorant of the privileges which have been accorded him, still obeys, and like a good Christian, if he is struck on the right cheek, turns the left; and should he be sufficiently daring to assert his rights, and refuse the homage required by the privileged class, the whip of the oppressor quickly

reminds him his emancipation is nominal, so long as the Turk remains in authority.

During my excursions in these provinces, I more than once witnessed the brutality of a Mahometan, when he was determined to enforce the privileges of his class: I have seen the unoffending object of his rage lashed with his whip, or unmercifully knocked down with the butt-end of his pistol. As an instance of this, I was travelling from Keuprili to Bittoglia, in Macedonia, with Georgy, my Rayah kiraidji, when we met one of these petty tyrants on horseback, in a path-way sufficient for two persons to pass a-breast: as a Frank, he allowed me to advance; but when my kiraidji attempted to follow, he was instantly struck from his horse by the haughty Mussulman. This was too much for my patience, I determined not to see my servant ill-treated, a scuffle ensued, he drew his pistol, I seized mine, and after looking at each other for a few seconds, my fiery Mussulman thinking, no doubt, I was some Frank Delhi, whose insane violence it might be dangerous to irritate, replaced his weapon, and we parted. Still, I must record this was a solitary instance; I found the Mahometans, of whatever race, uniformly polite; and so far from molesting any of my attendants, they were always ready to render me, in my character of stranger, any service I required.

Before we conclude this chapter of grievances, we

must mention a circumstance connected with public education in Turkey. The reforming government of the Sultan, desirous of imitating the institutions of civilized Europe, resolved that a Minister of Public Instruction should be created, and public schools erected in every town and commune throughout the empire, for educating the rising generation, of whatever nationality or religious opinion.

Unfortunately, the well-intentioned Sultan, in his anxiety to eradicate religious prejudice, did not calculate on the intolerance of the priests, particularly the Mahometan. When the scheme was communicated to the Scheik el Islam, the chief of the Mussulman religion, he immediately manifested the most determined opposition; he objected to the whole plan; and if it must be carried into effect, claimed the right, as the head of the only True Faith, of appointing the masters, controlling the funds, in short, of assuming the entire direction, contending that to educate the unbelieving Rayah was a dangerous and unwise proceeding, and must be productive of ruin, not only to the stability of the Turkish empire, but to the faith of Islam, unless carried out under his own superintendence.

It was in vain to attempt contending against so powerful an authority, who had divine right to plead, consequently the projected measure was abandoned by the government, and the Rayahs, with the consent of

the authorities, have themselves established schools in many of the large towns and populous communes. Thus we see, that priestly intolerance is the same in every country, and every religion, which cannot endure the light of knowledge.

CHAPTER XIV.

Taxes—How levied in Turkey—Rayah grievances—Reforms of the late Sultan Mahmoud—Their consequences—Present condition of Turkey.

In every country taxes must be levied to meet the demands of the State, and when this is done systematically and justly, so as not to press unequally upon any individual class of society, they are submitted to as an unavoidable necessity. Everything considered, the inhabitants of these provinces are not immoderately taxed; but it is the manner in which these imposts are levied, and the want of tact in the administration, together with the rapacity of the civil officers, which in too many cases render them an intolerable grievance, that presses more heavily on the Rayah than the Mussulman.

If we except the principalities of Wallachia, Moldavia, Servia, the independent tribes of Tchernegora

and Upper Albania, governed by their own laws, and here and there tributary to the Porte, the whole Turkish territory may be regarded as the private domain of the Sultan, who of his own free will and pleasure disposes of his rights and interest in the land to the most deserving among his subjects, or it may be to some fortunate favourite, who, whether invested with the title of Pacha, Aga, Soubachi, Spahi, &c., becomes entitled, by this grant, to the tenth of the produce of the land, without having any other interest in the possession.

In Asiatic Turkey, where the population of the old race of the Osmanli are still numerous, and more attached to a Prince of the House of Othman, than the descendants of the renegades of Bosnia and Albania, several powerful families have been permitted to retain their hereditary pachaliks and spahiliks; with the exception of these, and one or two beglouks in Bulgaria, Albania, and Bosnia, there is no hereditary title to territorial property; and those who hold it, only do so during the pleasure of the Turkish Monarch.

The taxes to which the Rayah is subject may be denominated regular and irregular. The regular taxes consist of the tithe to the lord of the village, or commune, for the time being, the imperial-tax, and the harritch (capitation-tax)—this degrading tax becomes a heavy burden to the poor Rayah, who may be blessed with a numerous family, since it is enforced upon the

whole male population, from seven to sixty years of age, with the exception of the clergy, and those who are incapacitated by physical infirmity from earning a subsistence. It would, however, be more oppressively felt if it were not for the admirable system of federalism among the Rayahs, to which we have previously alluded, and by which each tribe, according to its means, contributes to the necessities of the community; hence it is not individually felt, and from long usage is borne without much complaining.

The djaal (war-tax), which is levied during war, without limiting its amount, is the most oppressive tax to which they have to submit, and gives rise to much extortion on the part of the authorities of the provinces. The tchibouque-tax in some instances is paid to the Sultan, and in others becomes the perquisite of a pacha, or some high dignitary in office; it often amounts to a fifth, and in some instances to a tenth, of the produce of the land—this tax, being irregular, is frequently made a pretext for much oppression. There is also the gasdalik, to which we have before alluded, then comes the nousoul and the soursat, which compels the Rayah to furnish provisions and horses during the march of an army; he is, besides, liable to the beglouk, which gives power to the authorities to employ him and his horses in the execution of any of the public works of the State, for from twenty to thirty days in the year.

The beglouk often becomes the fruitful source of the

most vexatious annoyances. Whatever occupation the Rayah may be pursuing, it must be abandoned at the command of the authorities, when they think fit to employ him and his horses in the service of the State; but when any great officer of the Crown announces a visit to the provinces, then all the available labour of the country is called into requisition to clear the path-ways, cleanse the streets, paint and whitewash the konak of the Pacha for his reception; in short, to prepare an imposing exterior for the inspection of the man in authority: above all, should the Sultan be induced to visit any of the provinces, and proposes to travel in a carriage, then, indeed, every man, woman and child, not excepting the stranger, is pressed into the service of the Government.

We witnessed a *corvée* of this description, on a large scale, in 1837; and also, what a Turk can achieve when once roused to action; having accompanied the *cortège* of the late Sultan Mahmoud, on his famous visit to the fortresses on the Lower Danube. In a few weeks there was a tolerable road laid down the whole way from Stamboul, across the Balkan, to Schoumla; bridges were built, pavilions erected where His Majesty might pass the night, or stop to take refreshment; but alas! the roads have disappeared under the rank herbage that covers them, while the elements, in league with the torrents, have swept away the bridges; and the only

memorial we now see existing of the Sultan's tour, consists of one or two pavilions, which have been converted into hans for the reception of the traveller.

Notwithstanding these vexations, and that some of the taxes are irregularly levied, and that we occasionally meet with cases of imposition and extortion on the part of the authorities, together with the custom of here and there farming out the taxes to some greedy Jew or Armenian, we must attribute the discontent of the people not to excessive taxation, but to the defective system employed in the administration, when we take into consideration the comparative wealth and comfort which the industry of the Rayah has created for himself, provisions are everywhere cheap and abundant, and nowhere do we see the squalid misery so frequently found among the dense population of Western Europe.

The clergy of the Mahometan Church, and the civil and military officers of the state, are exempt from taxation; but the remainder of the Mussulman population are subject to the same system of taxation as the Rayah, with the exception of the capitation-tax, and liable to the same annoyances of irregular taxes; and though they are in a great measure screened from the gasdalik, the beglouk, the nousoul, and the soursat, by their co-religionists in power, they are not usually prosperous, which is entirely owing to their indolence; and when we do meet with a Turkish village, we are immediately

reminded of the fact by the slovenly habits of the people, and the want of skill displayed in the cultivation of their fields.

The Turkish Government, during the reign of the late Sultan Mahmoud, and that of the present Prince, has done much towards ameliorating the condition of the Rayah, by abolishing several military pachaliks and spahiliks, which by long prescriptive right had arrogated an authority in some degree independent of the sovereign, and highly obnoxious to the Rayah.

In carrying this measure into effect, the Porte, always arbitrary, was in many cases unjust, seeing that it deprived certain families of a privilege which they had enjoyed unquestioned for centuries, and in some instances secured to them by treaties since the Turkish conquest. This, however, has been the means of introducing here and there a new race of glebe landlords, who, employed as civil or military officers, usually reside in towns, and seldom or never visit the land whence they derive their revenues, save at harvest time, and even then the visit of inspection is often delegated to some Jew or Armenian.

In certain districts where the authority of the Sultan is maintained, and the glebe landlord exercises his newly-acquired rights with moderation and justice, the system proves extremely advantageous to the Rayah; since the one, as a member of the privileged class, has it in his power to protect the other from the spoliation

of a Pacha, or the extortion of a fiscal agent; being aware of the fact, that the value of his own tithes must increase with the prosperity of the Rayah; thus protected by the state and the tithe landlord, he enjoys an immunity from oppression, and a degree of tranquillity nearly equal to that of the husbandman who holds his land subject to a division of the profits with a landlord.

The position of the Rayah, however, is very different in the disturbed districts of Upper Moesia, Bosnia, and Albania; here, when the crops are fit for the sickle, the adherents of the ejected Bey or Spahi descend from their fastnesses, in the mountains, and in a few hours strip the land of what they consider their hereditary rights, and of which they had been unjustly deprived; the consequence is, that the entire Rayah population of several communes have been obliged to seek lands in some district that offered a hope of living unmolested. During my excursions in Bosnia and Albania, I frequently met with cavalcades of these tribes on their way to the low lands of Macedonia and Bulgaria, carrying with them their families, their implements of husbandry, their flocks and herds, even to the household dog and cat. Again, I have passed through more than one commune in these unlucky provinces where the inhabitants were in the deepest distress, in consequence of the eternal broils between the Mussulman population and the government; the one endeavouring

to enforce its reforms, and the other as obstinately opposing any change whatever. In these contests the agriculturist is preyed upon by the armies of each party, and often deprived of everything save his hut, his furniture, and his implements of husbandry.

In the districts of Ichtiman, Kostendji, in Upper Moesia, and on the frontiers of Tchernegora, where the Haiduc, the enemy of the Turk, still maintains his rule in the mountains, and exercises a sort of superstitious influence over the mind of the Mussulman oppressor, the Rayah inhabitants of many a fertile valley, protected by their free brethren, the children of the mist, enjoy, and have enjoyed for a long series of years, a total exemption from the harassing tyranny endured by their less fortunate brethren of the low lands. The Kodji-Bachi, the Rayah chief of these districts, pays the tithes of his commune to the Spahi, the government taxes to the Pacha of the department, and thus, never annoyed even by the sight of a Turk, peaceful and happy they glide through existence in their own sequestered mountain home. In these districts we also find the greatest number of ancient convents with churches attached, and schools for the education of the people.

From what we have seen and heard during our tour in Upper Moesia, Bosnia, and Albania, the discontent of the Rayahs, and the disturbances of the Mussulmans, appear increasing instead of diminishing, and might be attended with fatal consequences to the Sultan's govern-

ment in these provinces, should he be forced into a war with any of his powerful neighbours, who cannot but be aware of the fact, and would not fail to take advantage of it should a declaration of hostilities be resolved on.

Hitherto the Turkish Government has had a most efficient ally in the religious prejudices of the inhabitants of these provinces, who, although of the same race, and speaking the same language, have ever been, owing to the difference in their creed, the most inveterate enemies. Without altogether pledging myself for the truth of the statement, I was repeatedly informed that offers were made by the principal insurgent chieftains of these provinces to return to the religion of their fathers, if the Christians would rise *en masse* and assist them in expelling the Osmanli; this is rendered by no means improbable, from the circumstance that they never were thoroughly converted to Islamism, and might perhaps sacrifice their faith in order to preserve their hereditary fiefdoms, and gratify their thirst for vengeance. To effect a union between the Christians and Mussulmans we know was the aim of the rebel-chief Julika, in the Albanian Insurrection of 1847. To make our readers more intimately acquainted with the causes which made the valiant Mussulmans of Bosnia and Albania such inveterate enemies of Osmanli rule, we must take a retrospective glance of the reforms begun by the late Sultan, and continued by his successor Abdul-Meschid.

About the commencement of the present century, the Turkish empire was threatened by two great evils. On the one side, by a military despotism, whose law was force; and on the other, by the discontent of a numerous people driven to desperation. The gallant Christians of Servia had already flown to arms, and Greek Heteria was busily preparing for an outbreak that must have shaken the empire to its foundation. At such a crisis, the late Sultan Mahmoud had no choice, but to crush the one and conciliate the other, and he resolved to overthrow the military despotism. In coming to this decision, we may presume he was actuated by a desire of giving peace to his country and security to his throne; and his first step in reform was the well-known massacre of the Janissaries, but as these troops were invariably chosen from the robust Mussulmans of Bosnia and Albania—there was not a single family in these provinces who had not to deplore the loss of some relative—consequently, a hatred, the most deadly, has been engendered against the rule of the Osmanli Sultan, and which is certain to be perpetuated by a people whose law is blood for blood.

The destruction of this powerful military body was succeeded by an entire re-organization of the military forces of the empire, the introduction of European usages, military tactics, costume and the conscription. These reforms, so repugnant to Mussulman feelings

and prejudices, everywhere enforced at the point of the bayonet, provoked a succession of sanguinary insurrections, which by obliging the Sultan to employ his forces in chastising his rebellious subjects, left his frontier open to invasion; especially as he could no longer depend for support upon the valiant Beys and Spahis of Bosnia and Albania, who in cases of extreme danger had so often saved the Turkish empire.

Three years after the destruction of the Janissaries, politic Russia, who never sets her armies in motion, nor undertakes an enterprize without being certain of success, took advantage of the weakness of the Sultan to declare war, and entered the Turkish territories. In vain the bewildered Sultan caused the sacred banner to be unfurled, in vain he called the whole Mussulman population to arms; he had no other troops than his undisciplined recruits, the Nizam, whose defeat was certain; and yet the fortunate General who headed the Russian expedition, found himself dignified with the title of Balkansky, to perpetuate the memorable exploit of marching over the Balkan!

A singular combination of circumstances made Russia, on two occasions, the saviour of the Turkish empire; when her armies had crossed the Balkan, the insurgents of Bosnia, taking advantage of that event, rose *en masse*, and having deposed their Se-

raskier, Vizir Abdourahim, took possession of the passes of the Balkan, and intrenched themselves in the strong town of Philippopoli for the purpose of cutting off the retreat of the Russians. With this object in view, and relying on the activity of Moustapha Pacha of Scutari, who, at the head of thirty-five thousand Albanian warriors, was to have taken possession of the capital, they intended, after deposing the Giaour Sultan, to unite with all the malcontent Mahometans of these provinces, and fall on the Russians. General Geismar, who had orders to be on the look-out for the rebel Pacha, most fortunately met him as he was endeavouring, by a circuitous route, to avoid the position of the Russian army, when after a slight engagement, he was compelled to fall back upon Philippopoli.

The sudden termination of hostilities, and peace with Russia, deranged the plans of the rebel chieftains, who, after ravaging the greater part of Roumelia, retired to their mountain fastnesses to brood over their disappointment, and plot another insurrection; for Mussulman vengeance was not satisfied, the monarch who had deprived them of their just rights must fall. This time, their hope of success was centered in a chieftain of their own race, Mehemet Ali, Pacha of Egypt, who was invited over to place himself at the head of the movement, and assume the sovereignty of the

Turkish empire. It is well known with what facility the well-disciplined troops of that ambitious chieftain marched from conquest to conquest, through an empire without either vigour or resources to oppose him, when the strong arm of Russia again turned aside the blow. Thus the unlucky Mahmoud had the mortification to see that he owed his throne a second time to the direst enemy of his house and race.

In many respects, Sultan Mahmoud deserves the admiration of posterity, since he was the first Ottoman monarch who had the energy to curb that host of petty tyrants, the military Beys and Spahis, who having arrogated to themselves a power almost regal, for centuries ruled the unhappy Christians of these provinces, in many instances with oppressive tyranny. If he really had the design of erecting these provinces into a separate Christian monarchy, which it is said he entertained, no act could have forwarded more effectually his views than the destruction of the Janissaries, and of the military despotism of the Beys and Spahis. If, on the other hand, he was instigated in his reforms by a certain power interested in the fall of the Ottoman power, then indeed Sultan Mahmoud must have been the veriest dupe of one of the cleverest Machiavelian artifices on record.

Without altogether giving credence to either of these reports, it must be admitted that the reforming Sultan

did not possess those great and vigorous qualities of a master mind necessary in a man who undertakes the difficult task of regenerating a people. At the commencement of his reforms we see him, with a bold hand and great energy, destroy the only element of his power—the confidence of his Mussulman subjects —without having replaced it by the more numerous class of his subjects, the Christians; and notwithstanding he saw insurrection at home, and his country at the mercy of an invader, he still remained bewildered and undecided, and with the clouded intellect of an every-day mind, had recourse to half measures and a vacillating policy, which completely failed in attaching to his rule any class or creed among his people.

Unfortunately for the prosperity of the country, and the advancement of civilization and order, the government of his successor has not profited by the errors of the late Monarch; we see the same indecision in its acts, the same absence of a sound enlightened policy—now truckling to the Rayah by granting some half measure of reform, and then stopping short to calm the effervescence of the privileged class — a system of governing which can never permanently succeed in attaching any.

The hatti-sheriff of Gulhané, which invested Christian and Mussulman with equal civil rights, has

only had the effect of making an enemy of the Mahometan, and a discontented subject of the Rayah; the former, irritated at seeing himself deprived of a privilege accorded to him as a True Believer, cannot submit to the degradation of being placed on a footing of civil rights with a despised Christian, and revenges the affront by having recourse to rebellion; while the latter, finding himself all at once emancipated from observances the most degrading and servile, believes the boon conferred upon him to have been accorded solely through fear, and perhaps for the first time in his existence moralizes: he pictures to himself the numerous indulgences still conferred upon the privileged class, of which he is deprived, above all, their political and religious rights, their exemption from the degrading poll-tax, the badge of their slavery; and now that there is war in the Turkish camp, he numbers the millions of his Christian brethren, compares their vast strength with that of the reigning class, the Mahometans, and comes to the conclusion that, in the event of another outbreak, the ruler must give way to the ruled.

When the stability of a state is in peril, or requires re-organization, such vigorous measures must be resorted to as may be found necessary to impart to it renewed strength, so as to be able to surmount its difficulties. It is evident that the Turkish Government, by the system it now pursues, has not succeeded in

attracting the sympathies of any class of its subjects; and having in some measure destroyed the line of demarcation between Mahometan and Christian, it must be prepared to fall back upon the old system of governing by Beys and Spahis, or completely equalize all distinctions of caste and creed. The Christians of these provinces, the most numerous, industrious and energetic in the empire, form a party whose influence, if they are permanently attached to the rule of the Sultan, we confidently believe can alone preserve the Turkish monarchy.

We live in troublesome times, and if the Sultan, influenced either by party prejudice, ignorance, or apathy, should continue to withhold from his Christian subjects, the fundamental rights of man, he deserves to fall. He should be warned by the example of Servia, Tchernegora and Modern Greece; he must be aware of the agitation which is now secretly carried on in these provinces by a host of clever propagandists, under the name of Panslavists, Panhellenists and Probatiists; facts which a traveller becomes acquainted with in his intercourse with the inhabitants, cannot be altogether unknown to the authorities, unless they are blinded by apathy and indolence. We have seen, only a few months since, a mighty sovereign hurled from his throne for stubbornly refusing to listen to the demands of his people on a simple question of reform,

powerful empires shaken to the foundation, and yet the claims of the inhabitants of civilized Europe for the amelioration of their social condition were but trifling, when compared with the grievances of the millions of Christians in these provinces.

CHAPTER XV.

Political state of Turkey—General observations.

HAVING now laid bare the weak points of the Turkish Government, it is but just that we should point out those that are deserving praise, and which have had their effect in holding together an empire that has already withstood so many shocks, internal and external.

At a very early epoch, the Princes of the house of Othman, aware of the tendencies of its Slavonian subjects towards a patriarchal form of government, with great foresight divided the provinces of European Turkey into several principalities, curtailing those that were extensive, and reviving the names of others which had by lapse of time become merged in the state of some powerful Kral. Each of these petty states was allowed to elect its own Kodji-Bachi,

and to govern itself under the jurisdiction of Mahometan Beys, Spahis and a Pacha. The Beys and Spahis, a species of national guard, received for their pay a tenth of the produce of the soil, and the Pacha, as the Sultan's lieutenant, had also his allotted taxes, and was the principal chieftain of the district; the people were contented and prosperous; the taxes were punctually paid, without any expense of collecting to the government; at the same time, the empire, with such an immense military force at its command, was respected at home and feared abroad: to this succeeded religious persecution, the rapacity of Pachas, Beys and Spahis, and every abuse of power in the form of a military despotism, till the reign of the late Sultan Mahmoud.

Notwithstanding this long series of misrule, the Rayah held possession of the soil, and though he is still excluded from all political rights, and exposed to many humiliations as a member of the despised creed, he enjoys a certain degree of freedom which places him in a position far superior to that of the peasants in some other countries of Europe. If his lands are not fertile, or he is discontented with the exactions of the authorities, or from any other cause, he is at liberty to dispose of his rights in the land, together with any improvements he may have introduced, and emigrate to some other province or district,

which opens a fairer prospect; besides, he enjoys a certain independence so long as he remains with his tribe.

In fact the Government of the Sultan may be considered an anomaly—the complete antithesis of our governments of Western Europe—a pure despotism modified by republican institutions, as we see exemplified in the communal privileges of the people, both Rayah and Mussulman, and the absence of all hereditary rank and property. The laws, which are not burdened with those endless forms and technicalities so favourable to those who live by them, are framed with a strict regard to the principles of justice. The Government of the Sultan is also mild and paternal wherever we find it equitably administered. For instance, in collecting the taxes, moderation and justice are displayed towards the husbandman—if his crops are consumed by a flight of locusts, or destroyed by the elements, or any other cause which could not be controlled, neither the Pacha, the Spahi, nor the tax-collector can proceed to seize, in liquidation of their claims, his house, household furniture, or agricultural implements; the law expressly forbidding that any subject of the Ottoman empire should be made destitute, whether the debt is due to the Government or private individuals.

The law is equally just with regard to the property of women, which can in no single instance be confiscated

either for the debts or the crimes of her husband, even high treason does not form an exception—the Koran wisely enunciating it as a principle, that as woman cannot control the self-will of man, neither was it equitable she should suffer for his delinquencies.

We have not space at present to go into more minute details respecting the Turkish laws, which appear to have been founded on the precepts of Mahomet, and on those of Ghengis-Khan. The Prophet seems to have entertained a great dislike for hired advocates, since his judicial code contains the following advice to his disciples.

"My children, in every legal process, avoid, as you would the evil eye, employing the services of an advocate. He is a man of cunning, an adept in artifice and sophism; for the peace of social life, the paid counsellor must be banished from the land. Let the Cadi be your judge, and your advocates sworn witnesses, not less than two—the process is prompt and inexpensive, and with a righteous judge you will obtain the same justice as if you had employed a professional advocate."

The laws of Mahomet contain much of plain practical wisdom, and if the judges who enforced them were impartial, there would be little cause for dissatisfaction; but where the executive is feeble, as is the case with the Ottoman Porte, its laws are necessarily badly administered, which gives rise to many subjects of com-

plaint—the venality of the judges—the rapacity of the authorities—the prejudice of castes—religious fanaticism —irregular taxation—all these causes, single and combined, concur to press heavily on the Rayah; as his labour must provide funds to meet every demand, at the same time they have created great discontent.

In a country where the unlettered son of a cobbler is eligible to the office of a Pacha or Vizier, according to the caprice of the sovereign, or the influence of bribery; a change in the authorities only adds to the evil, by substituting a poor man for a rich one, who must have recourse to extortion to support his new dignity. If the Rayah has any just ground of complaint and appeals to the Divan, he will it is true, find speedy redress; and in cases of extreme violence, the offending dignitary is punished by the loss of his place, and degraded to his former rank; but woe to the Rayah and his tribe who may have caused the deposition of a Mahometan official, his successor is certain to avenge it in a thousand ways without offending against the laws.

This state of things cannot endure, an aristocracy composed of hungry officials, is one of the greatest curses that can be inflicted upon a country, and most assuredly has principally contributed to the decadence of the Turkish empire, since it has given rise to every description of the most infamous bribery and corruption. If the power of the Sultan is ever to be placed upon a

secure foundation, among other reforms, he must waive his title as sole lord of the soil, and create an independent aristocracy; this can only be done by separate allotments of land to the most deserving among his subjects, without respect to creed or race, and by establishing the law of primogeniture, which, by giving a man an hereditary interest in the country, renders its prosperity identical with his own; he is also elevated above the temptation of enriching himself by unfair means, not only by his independent position, but the dread of entailing disgrace upon his name and family.

We have sufficient evidence in the demoralization of the Turkish empire, that the system of governing by patronage is not adapted to the advancement of a country; for while other states with less resources have increased in strength and power, and their inhabitants in civilization and enlightenment; we see here a chaos of misrule, and a people destitute of education, energy and intelligence, who, accustomed as a privileged class to exist on the industry of the other, have gradually sunk into apathy and indolence.

In fact the imperial form of government in Turkey is nothing else than the patriarchal in its fullest development, as originally established by Othman, which form, though well adapted to society in its early stages, is totally unfitted for a large community, or for man when highly civilized. It may seem a very plausible thing for a

ruler in whom is vested the supreme territorial command, to delegate a portion of the land to the most meritorious among his subjects, in trust, if we may so speak, for the remainder of the community, by which a provision is secured for all; and if human nature were not liable to be tempted by the suggestions of avarice and rapacity, then the division of the land among the few for the benefit of the many, might tend to the general welfare. As it is, we have human nature modified by Mahometan morality, and the result has been, that the Pacha or the Spahi imposes heavy taxes on the Rayah; and in order to meet these, and at the same time secure some profit to himself, large demands are made on the industry of the people. Again, independent of the mischiefs likely to arise from the imperfect morality of the agents, how could an efficient system of control be established over the numerous dependencies of a vast empire? considerable responsibility must necessarily be delegated to the different Pachas, and, as may be supposed, this, under the weak government of the Sultan, was often abused to purposes of tyranny and oppression, of spoliation and wrong.

It must be confessed the regeneration of the Turkish empire, composed as it is of so many conflicting elements and hostile interests, is a most herculean undertaking, and the difficulties might deter the most vigorous and enlightened reformer from making the attempt.

The introduction of the wisest and most effective measures of reform will, we fear, fail of success, unless aided with the assistance of men endowed with more energy and intelligence than the inexperienced, indolent Osmanli. In addition to his ignorance and exclusiveness, there is a *gaucherie* about him and what he does, a haughtiness in his manner, and a firm reliance on his own superiority and reasoning powers, which renders it almost impossible to convince him he is in the wrong.

Russia, we know, owes her enlightenment and civilization to her encouragement of foreign talent, particularly that of the Germans; but this mode of civilizing Turkey is altogether impossible, so long as that absurd law of the Koran remains in force, which denies political rights to any but a member of the Mahometan creed. This has the effect of preventing a host of clever, intelligent strangers, who have no hope of improving their condition in countries where the market is already overstocked with talent, from exchanging their listless state of existence, and taking service in a land that offers them an opportunity of employing their varied accomplishments. They might become most efficient naval, military and civil officers, and by their example infuse a spirit of activity into the apathetic, indolent Turk, and imperceptibly spread knowledge among a people by no means destitute of ability. Again, by encouraging emigration to a country fertile and salubrious, with fine

seas and noble rivers, and which offers many advantages for the employment of capital and lucrative commerce, Turkey might become as much to be admired for her political institutions as she now is for her natural resources and geographical position.

CHAPTER XVI.

Arrival at Vrania—Visit to the Pacha of Vrania—Entertainment —Arnouts—Military expedition to Bosnia—Crossing the mountains in Upper Moesia—Turkish bivouac—Arrival at Pristina—Plain of Cossova—Insurrection in Bosnia and Albania—Mausoleum of Sultan Amurath—Reschid Pacha—Veli Bey—Bivouac—Arnout tents—Violent tempest—Ruined castle of the Krals of Servia—Ascent of the Rogosna Planina —Splendid prospect.

After having so long followed the tortuous course of Turkish policy and Rayah grievances, pryed into the secrets of the administration, and discussed its reforms and errors, we will once more mount our steeds, and dash over mountain and valley, through the rugged defile and across the foaming torrent, confining our remarks to descriptions of wayside travelling, pictures of men and manners, and such details as our route may supply.

On leaving Leskóvatz, Upper Moesia is visible in

all its grandeur; vast mountains, here covered to the summit with fine forest trees, there bare and rugged, reared their lofty pinnacles, now veiled with the dewy mist of early dawn. Our pathway lay through the lovely valley of the Morava, glowing with luxuriance: the tiny villages of the Rayah tribes, their flocks and herds peacefully grazing on every shelving bank, and a numerous population engaged in their agricultural pursuits, appeared as happy as if their mountain home had never suffered from the ravages of the marauder. Such was the interesting picture that met our view till we arrived at Vrania, the seat of government of a civil and military Pacha.

Vrania, lying at the foot of a fine range of hills, covered with vineyards, tobacco, maize, and corn fields, with the pretty kiosk of the Pacha (its extensive verandah, painted red and white), its numerous mosques, with their graceful minarets, looked picturesque and attractive as we saw it from the mountain plateau; it has also the advantage of being bathed by the Morava, which here forms a considerable curve, and fertilizes an extensive valley.

Vrania, the Tranupara of the ancients, contains from six to seven thousand inhabitants. The remains of a Christian church is attached to the Bishop's residence; both are nearly in ruins, having been plundered and burnt during the late insurrection of the Mussulman rebels of Bosnia and Albania. That part of the town

occupied by the Arnouts has several fine fountains, and altogether appears in a more flourishing condition than the Rayah quarter, which still bears the mark of the desolating visit of the marauders.

The town at this time was completely filled with armed men, Beys and Spahis, with their clans, who were preparing to take the field, the Pacha having received intelligence from Bosnia and Albania that the Mussulman insurgents of certain districts in these provinces were again in arms, and intended trying their fortune in another campaign against the Government.

With some difficulty we made our way through the throng of fierce warriors to the Pacha's kiosk; and as may be supposed, the appearance of a Frank excited no inconsiderable degree of attention, and my pandour was questioned on all sides as to the country of the traveller. Now Jocko, the pandour, with whom I had become a great favourite, chose to paint his Effendi in very bright colours, and it was speedily known to the most distant groups that an Inglez was actually among them; consequently by the time we arrived at the kiosk, the spacious At-meidan in front was completely filled with the multitude whom curiosity had drawn together.

The noise and bustle of the people beneath attracted the notice of the Pacha, and a large circle of Beys, Spahis, civil and military officers assembled in council on the extensive platform that covered the verandah, who immediately ordered out a guard of pandours to clear

the way, and I was ushered up a flight of steps into the presence of the Turkish dignitaries. If England requires a proof of the high respect entertained towards her by the Turkish authorities, and likewise by the people, even in this remote town, far distant from every communication with the great world, it was sufficiently evidenced by the friendly hospitality with which I was received by the Pacha and his officers, and the demonstrations of welcome so warmly given by the people. This is certainly a proof that the Osmanli gratefully acknowledge whatever political services we may have formerly rendered them, and are fully sensible of the value of so powerful an ally.

I was invited by Hussein Pacha, of Vrania, to a sumptuous entertainment, where I met his brother, Veli Bey, who spoke a little bad Italian; we had also Soliman Bey, Hussein Bey, Verzad Bey, and several others who held some civil or military employ in the town and the neighbouring districts Hussein Pacha, and his brother Veli, wrote in my pocket-book a few sentences complimentary to myself, and expressive of their high esteem for my country; and in return, I wrote in their albums a few lines recording my good wishes for the Sultan, and the prosperity of the empire, and my obligation to my hosts for the courtesy they had rendered me. This was to be kept as a souvenir of the visit of the first Englishman they had ever seen in Vrania.

In consequence of the Pacha's kiosk being completely filled with his friends, I was billetted for the night upon a very worthy man, the Greek Bishop of Vrania; who provided me with a tolerable bed on a divan, and notwithstanding I was a compulsory guest, he received me with great kindness. I was sorry to see that the church was completely destroyed, and only two or three rooms of the Bishop's residence had escaped the devastation. This sacrilege took place about two years ago, and was perpetrated by a host of the fanatic followers of a mad Dervish, who styled himself Padishah of Roumelia; after levying contributions on the entire country to within a few days journey of Constantinople, he was taken prisoner, and his army dispersed by Omar Pacha; who, on this occasion, it is said, displayed a great deal of duplicity towards the fanatic Dervish and his principal chieftains.

I passed my time far more agreeably at the ruined residence of the Bishop, than in the gay kiosk of the Pacha; having met there an Italian, Signor Dimitry, who filled the post of surgeon in one of the Turkish regiments stationed at Vrania. I enjoyed his society not a little, for the traveller who wanders over these provinces when he occasionally meets a native of civilized Europe, with whom he can exchange ideas, values the privilege in proportion to its rarity.

The Mahometans of these provinces, principally of Slavonian and Albanian descent, are certainly a warm-

hearted people, and overwhelm you with civility when performing the offices of hospitality, but they are utterly ignorant of the great world. There is scarcely one, whether Vizier, Pacha, or Bey, nay, even among the better educated, the Moullah and the Cadi, who does not entertain the most extravagant notions of England's wealth and power. The wonders of the Arabian fairy tales are as nothing in their estimation, compared with what we have the power to effect by means of machinery: transporting armies, and levelling mountains, they believe to be our everyday exploits; in short, that we only require a lever sufficiently strong to be able to overturn the world! Poor France they regard as one of our vassals, much given to rebel against our authority! The Nemshee (Austrians) are designated as a swine-eating, beer-swilling nation, who fight and man their ships by proxy! deputing for this purpose the Slavonians and Hungarians, who they hold, especially the latter, in great respect, as a valiant people. As to Prussia, Spain, Holland, Italy, and the remaining countries of Europe, their geographical knowledge is, we must confess, extremely limited.

When I fully explained to my friends our immense territorial possessions in India, our colonies in every part of the world, the millions upon millions of human beings who acknowledged the sway of England, they in turn expatiated with great self-complacency upon the vast domains of the Padishah of all Padishahs the

Sultan, who was recognized as supreme lord in Asia, in Europe, and Africa; and whose millions of subjects were outnumbered only by those of England, and concluded by saying there were only three great powers in the world, Turkey, England, and Russia. Still I had always great difficulty in making a Turk comprehend how a nation, which produced the greatest men in the world, could submit to be governed by a woman. I however contrived to satisfy them even on this point, by telling them that it was entirely owing to our gallantry, in having selected a queen to reign over us, but that we took care to choose one that was young and pretty. This declaration drew forth thunders of applause, concluding with many a Mashallah! Billah Millah! that the Inglez were a great people, and showed much sense; and as she did not wear a yashmak, she was certainly better worth looking at, than their own bearded Sultan.

Hussein Pacha, having decided that his brother, Veli Bey, Verzad Bey, and several other Beys of distinction, attached to his pachalik, should proceed into the interior of Bosnia, and obtain from the authorities there some certain information of the designs and movements of the rebels; with permission of the Pacha, I resolved to accompany them. The day after my arrival at Vrania was fixed for their departure, I therefore lost no time in purchasing a horse; for as these Turkish officers were capitally mounted, Georgy's konies would not have

appeared to advantage in company with the chargers of my companions; however, my new purchase, which I bought from a Spanish Jew, for the trifling sum of about six pounds sterling, to which he added a Turkish saddle and bridle, was no disgrace to the caracoling company he was destined to travel among.

Georgy, my kiraidji, who had no desire to expose his burly person among the infidel cut-throats of Bosnia, I sent on to Prisren, there to await my arrival; but it was with sincere regret I parted with my faithful pandour, Jocko, who had orders from the Pacha of Nissa to escort me only to Vrania; the poor fellow manifested the greatest reluctance at leaving me, and offered to desert, and accompany me to England, if I would permit him.

Our military party now departed for Bosnia, attended by a guard of about one hundred Arnouts, all picked men, well mounted, and fine warlike-looking fellows. We ascended the valley of the Morava, which presented occasionally defiles of great strength, with scarcely sufficient space to secure a footing for our horses. After a few hours ride, the country became wild-looking and desolate, as if it had never been inhabited by man; not a human being, not a domestic animal was anywhere visible; as to the Haiducs, who had given their name to the mountain, if there were any, they took good care to conceal themselves, and also their flocks and herds.

On descending from the Haiducska-gora, we passed

close to the ruins of a church and monastery, evidently of great antiquity, and then entered a small basin-like valley, well cultivated, where the the town of Ghilan is situated, supposed to be the ancient Gabuleum. It contains probably about four hundred houses, inhabited by Bulgarians and Rascians, principally engaged in agriculture, and in the care of their flocks and herds; but we vainly sought in the countenances of the Rayahs for any trace of the ancient inhabitants of Ghilan, which was said to have been founded by a colony of Persians. On emerging from the basin of Ghilan, we ascended the Morava to its source, now a mountain torrent, our horses frequently up to their saddle-girths in water; and on reaching the summit of this lofty mountain, we caught a fine view of the Novo-Berdo, the Viciniarum of the Romans, with its castellated tower, which appeared, from its strong position, to command the surrounding country.

Wearied and fatigued with our long day's journey, we bivouacked for the night close to an Arnout village; the tents were spread, fires lighted, and our horses having been unsaddled, were turned adrift to forage for themselves in the woods. The flesh-pots were got ready; there was baking, stewing, roasting, and all hands were busy in preparing a plentiful meal. As I have had considerable experience in many a distant land, and among many a stranger race, in this sort of bivouacking, I hope my testimony will be received as

that of a competent judge, when I declare that I never travelled with any people who knew better how to arrange a bivouack, and cook a capital repast in the open air, than my Arnout Mahometan friends.

While the dinner, or rather supper—for these people only take two meals a day—was getting ready, we amused ourselves by shooting at a mark, smoking, or playing at chess. I do not intend to tire the reader with an account of the wonders of culinary art performed on this occasion; the keen mountain air caused us to render full justice to them; and as I was now among a company of True Believers, it would not become a good Christian to record, whether an ample supply of wine was provided for the use of the Inglez traveller, nor whether the Turkish Beys assisted him to lighten the load of the pack-horse that carried it.

We arose from our carpet beds at the first dawn of day, and were again in the saddle, when after toiling over a succession of lofty heights, through deep defiles, and roaring torrents, we got to Pristina, the ancient Crevini, about eight o'clock in the morning, where we rested a couple of hours, and enjoyed a capital breakfast with the Pacha at his konak. Here we found the same busy preparation as at Vrania, to arrest the career of the insurgents of Bosnia and Albania, we were also told that the mountaineers of Tchernegora had already crossed the Turkish border on their annual marauding expedition. Indeed the accounts we heard on all sides

of the lawless state of the country (aggravated by the enforcement of the conscription), even of those districts within a day's journey, rendered it highly probable, we should meet with some band of the unruly mountaineers, and perhaps be engaged in a skirmish with them, before we got to Bosna-Serai, our destination.

Truly, a Turkish town, as we see it in this mountain district—with its mosques and minarets, situated, as it usually is, at the base of some hill, bathed by a river, and surmounted by a fortress—forms one of the most beautiful features in the landscape that can be conceived; the peculiar style of architecture imparts a light airy elegance, and a cheerful aspect, unknown to our finest towns in Western Europe; but in order that future travellers may not be disappointed, I must add, that they are seen to the best advantage at a distance. From the heights above the town, I distinctly counted twelve mosques, two or three appeared really fine buildings, whereas the population is under ten thousand, and the greater number are Christians, of the Servian race.

On leaving Pristina, we passed the ruins of a monastery, and an old entrenchment; then ascended the banks of the Pristina, a small river, to the teké of a Dervish, where, after paying our homage as True Believers at the shrine of the holy man, we entered the immense plain, so well known as the field of Cossova, where so many

battles, since the days of Philip of Macedon down to the last great conflict between the Turks and the Servians, have been decided.

The plain of Cossova is presumed to be ten leagues in length, and when seen in its full size from any of the surrounding heights, bears the form of an oblong basin; in fact it is nothing more nor less than the bed of a vast lake, like several others of a similar description I passed over in these provinces. The soil is alluvial, and of immense depth, and notwithstanding the plain is situated at a height not far short of two thousand feet, it is everywhere extraordinarily fertile, and appropriated, for the most part, to agriculture and grazing-grounds. The prospect from this plain in every direction is extremely beautiful: there is the vast amphitheatre of the mighty Kopaonik, rising to a height of six thousand feet; the pinnacled cliffs of the Bosnian mountains; the Arnoutska Planina, in Upper Albania; the lesser heights, in Bulgaria and Macedonia; and, perhaps not the least interesting, the gigantic Scardus.

At Gazimestan, a few leagues from Pristina, we visited the teké of Sultan Amurath, erected on the spot where that heroic son of Othman was assassinated in his tent by a treacherous friend, Milosh Obilitsch, a chieftain of Servia. The Osmanli, furious at the loss of their glorious Sultan, fought like demons during the tremendous battle which ensued on the 15th of June,

1389, when the Servians were totally routed, their Kral Lazar killed, and every prisoner put to the sword.

The Servian patriot, that he might destroy the Sultan, sacrificed himself, hoping thereby to deliver his country from the rule of the infidel; but alas! his ill-advised enthusiasm only entailed upon his land and race centuries of woe and degradation. To murder the man with whom you had broken bread and exchanged the cup of hospitality, was a crime in those days unknown among the virtuous horde of Othman. The Turks revenged themselves by the total destruction of the Servian empire; and at the death of Sultan Amurath may be said to have commenced those horrible persecutions of the Christians, which have been carried on with greater or less violence down to the present day. A neat building, furnished with a mat, carpet and chandelier, containing a sarcophagus, has been raised to the memory of the Turkish hero, whose remains, after lying in state on the field of battle, were removed for interment to the burial-place of his ancestors at Broussa.

Not many years since, this famous field was again the theatre of a severe conflict. The Mussulman-Servians of Bosnia assembled here to the number of twenty-five thousand well-appointed warriors, and completely defeated the Nizam sent against them. They were commanded by a chief who styled himself Zmai od Bosna (the Dragon of Bosnia). He was descended from a member of the princely house of Brankowich,

so well known in the history of Servia as the traitor Brankowich, who, having abjured Christianity, betrayed his country to the Turks. The Zmai od Bosna of our day, however, was highly popular with his fanatic followers, and appeared to be advancing rapidly to sovereign power.

Reschid Mehmet Pacha, who was then Grand Vizier, unable to attack the rebels, owing to the demoralized state of the Nizam, despatched against them a large army of Albanian volunteers, commanded by two Pachas; but instead of fighting, they fraternized with the insurgents of Bosnia; and now, heaping maledictions on the Giaour Sultan and his reforms, the united army prepared to march on Constantinople, with the intention of dethroning him. At this critical moment, the "Dragon of Bosnia," who appears to have possessed more the spirit of a hero than the subtlety of a diplomatist, instead of elevating himself, like his neighbour Milosh of Servia, to the dignity of Sovereign Prince of Bosnia, was completely caught in the net of the wily Asiatic, and accepted from him the mantle of Vizier and Lord of Bosnia.

Elated with his new dignity, and relying on the good faith of the Grand Vizier, our too-confiding chieftain separated his interests from those of his allies, disbanded the greatest part of his troops, formed his court as Vizier, appointed his officers of state, and remained for some weeks in his pleasant city of tents, amusing

himself with feasting, drinking and military exercises.

During this time, the Grand Vizier had collected together the broken fragments of the Nizam, placed another Vizier over Bosnia, on whose fidelity he could depend, and, in conjunction with a host of Beys and Spahis with their followers, advanced in battle-array from Novi-bazar towards the field of Cossova, where he defeated the Dragon and his followers. The hero himself fought with the energy of desperation, and after performing prodigies of valour, succeeded in cutting his way, with two hundred of his principal Beys and Kapitans, through the Nizam, and reaching the mountains. At length, after many adventures, he was obliged to escape into Austria, and eventually owed his pardon and exile into Asia to the intercession of the Grand Vizier.

My communicative companion, Veli Bey, who was a native of these provinces, while he dwelt with pride on the extraordinary bravery and gallantry of the "Dragon of Bosnia," eulogized in the highest terms the artful Asiatic, Reschid, who he pronounced to be a man of transcendent genius, able to accomplish the destruction of his enemy, even when victory appeared to have placed him beyond his grasp. I could not help thinking what a very elastic thing political honesty was in the opinion of a Mussulman, and how easily it was made to bend to circumstances.

Veli Bey, who was an admirable *cicerone*, and knew the ground well over which we now travelled, pointed out to me the remains of entrenchments and the various sites of pitched battles, in fields where perhaps more of man's blood has been shed than in any other part of the world, when we remember that this was the gathering-place of the half-wild tribes of these provinces, in their numberless encounters with their more civilized neighbours the Greeks, Macedonians, Romans, Byzantines, Turks, &c., &c.

We encamped for the night in the vicinity of Vouschitrin, the ancient Viciternum; a small town with two mosques, a Greek church, and some remains of antiquity. We had now fairly entered Bosnia, but as yet everything wore the appearance of tranquillity; the Governor of the town, with the Aga, the Cadi and Moullah, visited us in our tents, bringing with them pack-horses laden with a choice supply of dainties and luxuries to comfort our Beys, under the fatigue of the rebel-hunting expedition in which they were engaged.

An Arnout camp of white tents, each surmounted by its little white and red banner, and spread out like a fan, is a very pretty object in the landscape; these hardy soldiers, however, rarely make use of one, unless compelled by the cold or rainy weather, or when a storm threatens, as was the case this evening; a carpet spread on the grass, and a thick mantle, suffice for all their wants. However indifferent they may be to the comforts

of life, they are most fastidious with respect to their dress, which generally consists of a jacket of fine red cloth, or silk, or velvet when they can afford it, and always of the most glaring colours; the breast of these jackets, besides being richly braided, are sometimes adorned with several rows of buttons placed as close to each other as possible, this, with the white fustinella and its hundred folds, a red fez jauntily placed on the side of the head, red gaiters, pointed red shoes, silk sash stuck with pistols and a hanjiar, constitute the costume of an Arnout warrior; their principal weapons of defence consist of a long gun richly inlaid, pistols of the same description about a foot and a half long, and a crooked sabre, often of great value, probably an heir-loom for successive generations.

The costume and weapons of their Boulouk-bachi, Soliman Bey, of Novo-Berdo, differed in nothing from those of his men, except they were of a more costly description. So long as the daylight lasted they formed together different groups, around blazing fires, and amused themselves by smoking, singing, story-telling, and playing their monotonous airs on a species of flute called the gabal, there was also the bag-pipe and the lute, to the sound of which the ancient Greek dance, the Pyrrhic, was performed to great perfection.

As we had anticipated, the threatened storm aroused us from our slumbers; thunder, lightning, rain and wind, combined to form one of those violent tempests

which prevail in mountainous countries, consequently our pretty tents, which looked so gay and picturesque the evening previous, were torn from their fastenings, and many of them whirled aloft in the air like balloons and carried off to the mountains; fortunately, the little town of Vouschitrin was not far distant, and thither Veli Bey, myself, and several others scampered as fast as if we had been leaves driven by the wind to seek shelter in the house of the unlucky Aien of the town, whose dreams of paradise and houris must have been most disagreeably disturbed, when he found he had to receive, at one o'clock in the morning, a host of dripping guests. Oriental hospitality, however, prevailed over every other consideration; and his appearance among us was speedily followed by a hot collation, raki, coffee, and the tchibouque—these, with a blazing fire, made us soon forget the violence of the tempest that still raged with increased fury, and shook the house above us.

With regard to myself, being a Frank and a stranger, our host, in consideration for my health, most courteously insisted that I should be supplied with a change of raiment from his own wardrobe; now, as the good Aien was somewhat short and corpulent, his ample shalwar and braided velvet jacket produced a droll effect upon a man spare in flesh and taller by a foot, which added not a little to the merriment of our party. At length, mirth gave way to the fatigue of travelling, the tchibouque was unconsciously laid aside, and one after

the other dropped into the lap of Morpheus, and here we ate, drank, slept and dreamed in the same position, till the beams of the morning sun warned us it was time to be again in the saddle.

On leaving Vouschitrin, we passed the ruins of a fortified castle, built by the Servian Emperor, Stephan Douschan, for the defence of this important pass. On its crumbling walls, the Turks have erected a species of wooden karaoul, manned by half a dozen Arnouts and two rusty cannon, we presume with the intention of frightening the Haiducs and Rayahs. At Mitrovitza, a small town of about three hundred houses, we arrived at the banks of the Ibar; fortunately a wooden bridge was thrown over it, for having now become a foaming torrent, owing to the rains of the preceding night, swimming across might have been a perilous undertaking. While my friends were occupied in visiting the authorities of the town, I ascended the hill to explore the ruins of the fine old castle of Svetschen, so well known in the history of the Servian empire as the residence of its earliest Krals, during their wars with the Byzantine Greeks, and at a later period against the Turks. It is pleasantly situated on the western bank of the Ibar, and completely commands the defile leading into the interior of the country, and every approach to the town of Mitrovitza. The church is the only part of the building that escaped the devastation of the Turks, and, with the exception of the roof, yet remains in tole-

rable preservation: we can still distinctly trace on the walls the half-obliterated pictures of saints, and other religious ornaments appertaining to the Greek religion.

The weather having cleared, and a strong wind dried the floods which rendered the pathway so slippery and dangerous for mountain travelling, we had a pleasant ride of a few hours along the verdant banks of the Ibar, till we commenced the ascent of the Rogosna Planina, which, as usual, in the mountain districts of European Turkey, was conducted up the bed of a torrent. We were, however, repaid for all our labour by a very splendid view, combining the beauties of isolated peaks shooting up to the heavens, mountain plateaus glowing with the verdure of the forest, intersected by a multitude of deep defiles, gorges, and romantic dells, with their rivers and torrents rushing towards the vast basin of the Rasca, which gradually opened to view as we advanced, till it fell upon the vision, like a little world of itself, surrounded by a mountain wall, from which there appeared no outlet; and truly, as we now saw this extensive basin, with its villages and cultivated fields, the large town of Novi-bazar, its mosques and minarets, the whole brightened with the many-coloured tints of the evening sun, it seemed as if destined by nature to be a residence for the gods.

CHAPTER XVII.

Route between Novi-bazar and Bosna-Serai—Mountains and defiles of Bosnia—Natural fortifications—Arrival at Bosna-Serai—The representative system in Bosnia—Municipal rights of the citizens—Feudalism and Democracy—Fanaticism—Bosnian renegades—Causes which led to their conversion—Enlightened policy of the early Sultans of Turkey—Turkish reform—Its effects in Bosnia—Political state of Bosnia—English Vice-Consul—His expulsion by the Turks—Impolicy of placing foreigners in diplomatic appointments—Austrian Consul—Commerce and political agents—Historical sketches of Bosnia—Insurrection in Bosnia—Injustice of the Ottoman Porte—Horrible sufferings of the Slavonian-Mussulmans in the Stari Vlah—Milosh, Prince of Servia.

THE accounts we received at Novi-bazar, all tended to prove the insurrection of the Mussulmans of Bosnia was becoming more general; as yet it was confined to the interior of the country, in the vicinity of Bania-Louka and Svornik; still, as several of the most influential chiefs were known to be again in the field, accompanied by a host of fanatic priests, everywhere

stirring up the people against the rule of the reforming Sultan, the Pacha of Novi-bazar felt himself insecure in a town with no other defence than a crumbling fort, and a few hundred soldiers of the Nizam; consequently, it was determined that Soliman Bey, and his little army of Arnouts, could not be better employed than in aiding the Pacha, with their long guns, in the event of an attack on the town. In the meantime, my enterprizing friend, Veli Bey, resolved to fulfil his mission at every risk, threw aside his military uniform, and enveloping himself in the costume of a plain travelling Mussulman, with two or three others of his party similarly disguised, we started at early dawn to cross the vast ridge of mountains that separate Novi-bazar from Bosna-Serai, better known to the European reader as Sarievo, the capital of Bosnia.

It took us three days hard riding, through a succession of the most inaccessible mountains and dangerous defiles of any other district I had yet travelled over in European Turkey, before we arrived at Sarievo. Previous to the Turkish conquest, this line of country formed the frontier between the Slavonian tribes of Servia, and those of Bosnia; for although these people trace their origin to the same source, they have never remained for any length of time subject to the jurisdiction of the same prince: nature itself having formed such an impregnable line of breast-work, so easily defended, seems to have destined them to a separate

existence. In viewing these mountains, we must marvel how the Turks, or any other enemy, could have been able to penetrate through them to the conquest of Bosnia; which, indeed, never would have been effected had the people continued united, and of the same religion.

During our route, we passed through some beautiful and fertile valleys as any in the world, particularly the Rasca, watered by its fine river of the same name; then there was the plain of Senitza, with its river, fort and town, of about a thousand inhabitants; Pricpol, also a small town, built in a romantic valley, watered by the Lim; Taschlitza was the most important place we met with, and might contain about two thousand inhabitants, with half a dozen pretty mosques.

These little towns, were so far useful, since they afforded us rest and provender for our horses, together with a hearty welcome from the principal Mahometans of the place, and enabled Veli Bey to obtain accurate information of the state of the country. As yet we did not meet with a single insurgent; the Rayah was seen quietly at work in the fields, the shepherd tending his flocks and herds, the pandour lying in his karaoul, handling a tchibouque instead of a gun, or playing on the gousla. It was alone, among the armourers of the towns, who appeared to be busily employed in furbishing up old weapons, that we saw anything like preparations for war, and in the number of Arnouts and the

Kavaas that were seen lying about in groups near the residence of some Osmanli official.

Forests, here and there, of very fine oak-trees, are found in these mountains; but the country was nearly uninhabited, if we might judge from the absence of cultivation and villages, and the number of wild animals that were continually crossing our path, not unfrequently a wolf, a bear, or a lynx; and in the marshes of the defiles we more than once saw the boar with its young, rushing for safety, on perceiving us, into a tangled thicket of reeds and briars. But perhaps the greatest of all our difficulties was the number of rivers we had to ford during our route, and the danger we incurred of being carried away with the flood, a few hours rain being sufficient to swell them into torrents, in these mountain districts.

On leaving these savage wilds with their annoyances behind us, and emerging from the depths of the roaring Migliatzka, my delight was not greater than my astonishment when I caught the first view of Bosna-Serai, and its beautiful plain, a very vision of fairy-land in a wilderness; so little, indeed, does the stranger expect to find a town so large, and evidently wealthy, in the centre of the ever-turbulent Bosnia. In truth, the old capital of Bosnia, although shorn of its ancient grandeur and commercial importance—when it was the depôt for the merchandize of Europe and Asia, and contained upwards of a hundred thousand inhabitants,

is still one of the most beautiful and interesting towns in the Turkish empire. Then its delightful environs, blooming gardens with their pretty kiosks, the number of rivers and rivulets, transparent as crystal, winding through a plain unsurpassed for fertility, combine to form a landscape seldom equalled for picturesque effect; neither must we forget its gilded tower, the swelling dome, pointed minaret, and bazaars roofed with tiles of every shade and colour all glittering in the sun.

In wandering through the town and environs, we see bridges built of stone with their elegant arches here and there thrown over the rapid Migliatzka, the Bosna, and the Jelechnitza; large and commodious hans, superior to those generally found in Turkey, are ready to welcome the traveller; coffee-houses and restaurants are seen in every street with abundance of the choicest provisions at almost fabulous prices as regards cheapness and quality, when compared with those of Western Europe. In addition to which, the inhabitants, however much they may be divided among themselves in their political and religious opinions, manifest towards the stranger the most marked respect and courtesy.

Bosna-Serai being the central station for the caravans that continually travel from it into every part of European Turkey, the commerce of the town is still considerable. The manufactures are principally confined

to the fabrication of coarse woollen cloths, fire-arms, cutlery and sabres; the latter are held in high repute, and much esteemed for the beauty of the workmanship and the temper of the blades. There are also several tanneries and manufacturers of jewellery, and if we may judge by the piles of rich merchandize, Asiatic and European, we see exposed for sale in the bazaars and the shops, there must be a wealthy population in the town and the country to constitute purchasers.

The quadrangular fortress, with its twelve towers and massive walls, so renowned for having arrested the triumphal march of the Imperialists, under Prince Eugene of Savoy, is still in tolerable preservation. The hero, after destroying one Turkish army after another, pushed on for the capital of Bosnia; and had it not been for the desperate and determined bravery of the citizens of Bosna-Serai, who threw themselves into the fortress and held out till the people recovered from their surprise and flew to their assistance, Bosnia might now have been numbered among the Slavonian provinces belonging to the Austrian Empire. The position of the fortress, erected on the summit of a projecting rock, at an elevation of three hundred feet, with the rapid Migliatzka running at its base, might be rendered impregnable were it not commanded by a higher eminence at no great distance, from which it could easily be destroyed by cannon. It appears to have been built by a Hungarian General, named Cotroman, in the

year 1270, when Bosnia was under the protectorate of the kings of Hungary.

Perhaps the most interesting fact connected with the history of Bosna-Serai, is the attachment of its citizens to a democratic form of government, and which so generally prevails among the Slavonian tribes of these provinces, wherever it is possible to be carried into execution. We have already alluded to this trait in the character of the people, when treating of the patriarchal rule of the elders; and however novel it may appear to our English readers, the system of self-government prospered among the Slavonians of this town long before it found a secure footing among the sturdy aristocrats and democrats of old England; and notwithstanding every attempt of the Ottoman Porte to establish a centralization of power, Bosna-Serai still enjoys a portion of its ancient municipal privileges. It has its own senate, elects its magistrates, and its citizens possess the power of deposing any officer, civil or military, however high his position, who may incur the displeasure of the people. The ancient constitution of Bosna-Serai does not permit the Vizier of Bosnia, the representative of the Sultan, to remain within its walls three successive days, so jealous are these people of their civil rights; consequently, he is obliged to take up his residence at Travnik, distant about two days ride.

The reforms of the Sultan, tending to ameliorate

the social condition of the Rayah, must be acknowledged as a step made in the right path of governing; but the centralization of power so anxiously sought after by the Government of Constantinople, the introduction of the vexatious system of passports, the demoralizing effects of the conscription, and the endeavours to establish something in imitation of the bureaucracy of the Germans, the most complete despotism that the ingenuity of man could devise for imposing slavery on a people, has caused great discontent. Such a system of administration may be borne by the inhabitants of countries long subject to military rule, and who have never enjoyed the privilege of managing their own affairs through the instrumentality of municipal institutions; whereas here, among a people so tenacious of their civil rights and peculiar customs and manners, it can never succeed; and the pertinacity of the Government to force it upon the people, has been one of the causes which has led to those eternal insurrections that are gradually desolating this unhappy province.

These grievances principally affect the Mussulman inhabitants of Bosnia, who, although perhaps not quite so numerous as the Christians, comprise the most energetic and enterprizing class in the country, but unhappily for the success of their cause, they have been divided into two powerful parties, the avowed enemies of each other in every epoch of the history of Bosnia. The nobles, with their clans and feudal

institutions on one side; and the confederated democracy of the towns, in support of their municipal privileges, on the other. The Turkish Government adroitly availing itself of these political adversaries to assist it in carrying out its reforms, with great tact allied itself to the democracy of the towns, whose inhabitants were the first to declare themselves in favour of the social emancipation of the Rayahs, in order to combat more effectually the adverse party—the feudal lords and the fanatic priests, the declared enemies of all reform; but with its usual perfidy, having crushed one party through the instrumentality of the other, the veil which clouded the real intentions of the subtle Asiatic has been suddenly removed. The democrat of the towns fears for the loss of his municipal institutions with which he is threatened, and furious at the deception, has entered the lists with the remnant of the aristocracy, and now opposes, with arms in his hands, the introduction of every European reform, which might tend to render him the slave of the despot of the bureau.

The Ottoman Porte possesses another powerful ally in the religious dissensions of this unhappy people to assist it in carrying out its plans. Among the forty thousand inhabitants of Bosna-Serai, we find nearly thirty thousand Slavonian-Mussulmans, the remainder are Christians, adhering to the Greek and Latin ritual. Their religious hatred towards each other must be most

intense, for we find them located in different districts, as if a diversity of faith rendered it impossible that they could breathe the same air. In the pachalik of Novi-bazar and Svornik the population for the most part are composed of members of the Greek Church; in Turkish Croatia, the followers of the Latin creed; and Bosna-Serai, and the adjoining districts, is the stronghold of Islamism, whose adherents, in estimating the population of Bosnia, nearly equal in number the other two; they are also by far more vigorous, more independent in their principles, and enlightened in their manners and conversation, and by no means so fanatic. We frequently see a Slavonian-Mussulman on the most friendly terms with a Slavonian-Christian of the Greek or Latin persuasion, but never the two hostile members professing the Christian faith. The same hatred now exists as it ever has done since the first dispute which separated them into two distinct creeds; the Latins, however, form but a trifling part of the population of Bosnia, scarcely amounting to three hundred thousand.

It might have been supposed that the inhabitants of Bosnia, which remained so long under the enlightened protectorate of Catholic Hungary, would not have been so easily won over to the faith of Mahomet; but so far from this being the case, Islamism took the deepest root here and in the neighbouring country of Albania. Still this cannot be wondered at, when we

remember that in these two provinces the minds of the inhabitants were already pre-disposed to receive the deism of the Turk by the heresy of the Bogomilians—the Kathareni of the Greeks, which, in point of fact, inculcates deism, since its followers denied the divinity of our Saviour. Thus distracted by religious opinions, Latin, Greek and Bogomilian, each massacreing the other with fire and sword, and seeing but little difference between the faith of Mahomet and that so widely propagated by the Bogomilians, they were easily led away by the allurements of a doctrine, which had not only the attraction of novelty, but insured them so many advantages in this world and the next. The accession of so many millions of as brave and energetic a people as any in Europe, considerably increased the power and influence of the Osmanli, and enabled them to push their conquests till they became the terror of Christendom; and if the Asiatic Mussulmans have degenerated, these people still exhibit, in their robust forms, all the fire and energy of their race; and if it were not for their religious dissensions, and that they rely more on bravery than intrigue, they are sufficiently strong and powerful to assert their independence.

The inhabitants of Bosnia, tribes of the same Slavonian race as the Servians, formed at one time part of the Servian empire, when they were governed by their own Krals. In the twelfth century they cast off the rule of the Servian Czar, and placed themselves under

the protectorate of the kings of Hungary. History tells us that the Magyars, who in those days were good Catholics, after having received from the Pope a sacred banner, and sundry assurances for the safety of their souls, undertook the difficult task of bringing their new subjects—these obstinate schismatics—within the fold of the true Shepherd; but the fiery Hun, employing no arguments more persuasive than fire and sword, the poor people, unable to defend themselves, and still clinging to the creed of their fathers, secretly invited to their assistance the Osmanli, who then, for the first time, carved out for themselves a secure footing in Europe, on the plains of Thrace. The struggle of the warriors of the Cross and the Crescent with the Hungarians, who were then a much more numerous and powerful people than we find them in the present day, continued for nearly a century, till at length the war was carried into Hungary, where the Bosnians amply revenged themselves on the descendants of their old tyrants, by slaughtering the inhabitants, and laying the country waste with fire and pillage.

The inhabitants of Bosnia, however, found when it was too late, that they had merely exchanged the yoke of the Hungarians for that of the Osmanli, who, under the name of protectors, deliberately took military possession of all the strong places in the country; thus, finding themselves without a friend in the world, at enmity with the Latins, at enmity with their co-re-

ligionists of Servia, Greece and Bulgaria, for being the cause of bringing the infidels into the heart of the country, and, as we before observed, somewhat tainted in their religious opinions, they made a virtue of necessity, and publicly professed their faith in the creed of their rulers, urged, no doubt, by the powerful motive of self-interest—the chieftain and his clans to preserve their feudal rights, their lands and tenements, and the citizens of the towns their municipal privileges. The piesmas of the people tell us, that so universal was the mania to embrace the creed of Mahomet, that for many years after there was not to be seen a single individual who dared acknowledge himself a Christian, throughout the entire country.

The Osmanli Sultans, who in these days were men of great tact and foresight, without having recourse to persecution as a means of encouraging Mahometan proselytism, merely favoured the renegades by conferring upon the most deserving the highest offices of trust and emolument, and securing to their children, of whatever rank or station, such privileges and distinctions, as must cause them to be envied by those who dissented from their religious opinions. As may be presumed, the Bosnian mania quickly spread into Albania, and every city and town where the Bogomilian heresy had found a footing; and so general was the progress of Mahometanism, about the time of Scanderbeg, that had not that hero, together with several

valiant chiefs of the Slavonian tribes, taken up arms in defence of the Christian faith, and repeatedly beaten the Osmanli, who were till then considered invulnerable—the elect of God—it was presumed by the writers of that period, that the Christian religion would entirely have disappeared from these provinces. From this time, we may date the commencement of the persecution of the Christians by the Turks, which led to a religious war, even yet continued, with more or less ferocity, desolating the country, and causing, at the same time, the decline of the Turkish empire.

Previous to the reforms of the late Sultan Mahmoud, with the exception of the large towns, the whole territory of Bosnia was divided among Beys and Kapitans of districts, who resided in fortified positions; their possessions being hereditary, they considered themselves to be the legitimate proprietors. In addition to these, there was an inferior class of nobles, the Spahis, the proprietors of fiefs, which they held from time immemorial, on condition of being always ready for military service. No doubt, there was to be found here and there some petty tyrant who abused the power confided to him, but generally speaking, the people were happier, and less liable to oppression under this system; they were, at least, certain their property would be protected by their feudal lords, who had an interest in the prosperity of a class, from whose industry they derived their principal maintenance.

Since the abolition of the fiefs, rights, and military privileges of the Bosnian Mussulman nobles, and the conversion of the Beglouks and Spahiliks into imperial Tchifliks, which, after a series of dreadful insurrections, have been arbitrarily conferred upon Bosnian chiefs favourable to the reforms of the Sultan, and by which the possessor acquires not only the right to the tenth of the produce, but, in some instances, to the land itself, the situation of the agriculturist is rendered deplorable. By this despotic act of the Sultan and his Divan, he is liable to be ejected from lands which he inherited from his father, and continued to cultivate as clansman of the lord of the fiefdom. He thus finds himself in the same situation as his feudal lord—deprived at once of every species of property, degraded and humiliated by strangers, who, jealous of his fidelity and attachment to his hereditary lord, too frequently treat him like a beast of burden.

Can we therefore wonder, when treaties, rights to property, and all the social obligations that bind man to man in their mutual intercourse are thus violated, that this unfortunate province, above every other in European Turkey, is ever the theatre of the most sanguinary insurrections. The feudal nobles, with their clans rising in arms, to recover their lost fiefs and privileges; the citizens of towns to oppose the introduction of European institutions, tending to sweep away their municipal privileges; and the Christians to avenge

themselves on their tyrants: and this has been the state of Bosnia for nearly half a century; yet its sanguinary history has been as little known to the civilized inhabitants of Western Europe, as if the country had been situated in the interior of China.

In 1837, the English Government, no doubt anxious to advance the commercial prosperity of England, and, we presume, with a laudable desire to become more intimately acquainted with the political and social state of the country, appointed a Vice-Consul in Novi-bazar, whose jurisdiction extended over Bosnia and Upper Moesia; the selection of a *gentleman* to represent the majesty of Great Britain unhappily fell on M. Vassoevitch, the Knez of a petty tribe of Slavonians, called the Vassoeveti. The ignorant official, vain of his newly-acquired dignity, assumed the title of prince, and, by his arrogance and impertinence, so disgusted the inhabitants, and displeased the Turkish authorities, that before a year had elapsed, both Rayah and Mussulman rose *en masse*, tore down the Consulate flag, and drove away the empty-headed envoy from the town.

The first attempt to establish diplomatic and commercial relations with the inhabitants of these inland provinces of European Turkey having proved so unsatisfactory, the vacancy has not been filled up; yet we cannot but think, that in the present state of Turkey, Novi-bazar, or, perhaps better, Bosna-Serai, situated as

it is in the centre of Bosnia, ought not to be left unprovided with a representative of Great Britain, who would be able to supply the English Government with intelligence of the progress of political events, which in these provinces are daily becoming more important, and at the same time, watch over the commercial interests of Great Britain, more especially in countries so destitute of manufactures. At present, Austria monopolizes the entire commerce of these inland provinces: Austrian ducats, zwanzigers and bank-notes, are more current than even Turkish coins. While having undisputed possession of the field, particularly Bosnia and Herzegowina, which join her own states of Dalmatia, Ragusa and Cattaro on one side, and Croatia and Slavonia on the other, the country is filled with her political agents, who, whether disguised by the cowl of the monk, or the pack of the pedlar, are gradually preparing the minds of the people, both Mahometan and Rayah, for some important change—perhaps to be sheltered by the wing of the Austrian Eagle! She has already appointed a Consul-General for Bosnia—Mr. D. Atanaskovics—with whom I made a tour in these provinces in 1850, on his way to his station at Bania-Louka.

The annexation of these two provinces to the Slavonian States of Austria on the Adriatic and the Danube (and which, as we before observed, occupy a corner of European Turkey, separated by a vast chain of mountains from the rest of the empire), would at once open

to the inhabitants a maritime communication with the commercial countries of Europe; consequently, their union with a state which would so materially add to their importance, and develop their financial and commercial resources, would be more favourably received, even by the Mahometan population, than might be expected, so great is their antipathy to the rule of the Osmanli; besides, however much they may differ in creed, they are all Slavonians, of the same tribes and kindred, whether subjects of Austria or Turkey.

We may be solicitous to uphold an empire whose integral existence is so necessary to the balance of power, still we cannot close our eyes to the fact, that the rule of the Osmanli is rapidly approaching a termination in these provinces; indeed, the more we penetrate into the interior of the country, and become more intimately acquainted with the grievances of the inhabitants, whether Rayah or Mahometan, the more we are convinced of the truth of this assertion; for how is it possible that any Government, much less one so weak as Turkey, can maintain itself for any length of time, that has lost the sympathy of every class and every denomination of religious creed among its subjects, and whose authority is based upon no firmer support, if we can term it such, than the religious dissensions of the people? We will therefore briefly sketch the contemporary history of Bosnia during the last few years, and leave the reader to draw his own inferences.

After the death of Scanderbeg, the hero of Albania, who long supported the declining power of the Christians in these provinces, the aristocracy—who, as we before observed, were tainted with the Bogomilian heresy—now that the valiant chief who had so long encouraged their patriotism was no more, gradually forsook their strongholds in the mountains, and having made peace with the Turk, embraced the Mahometan creed, and placed themselves and their country under the rule of the Crescent, but not without first securing, by the most sacred treaties, all their ancient rights and privileges—the nobles, the enjoyment of their fiefdoms, and the citizens of towns their municipal institutions; only accepting from the Sultan, in token of submission to his rule, a Grand Vizier, who was to be aided in his administration by two adjuncts, as his councillors, always natives of Bosnia, under the title of Grand Cadi and Grand Voiavodi—so jealous were these people of their ancient liberty.

We will pass over the numberless instances in Turkish history, in which the formidable warriors of Bosnia distinguished themselves as the most illustrious chiefs and soldiers of the Crescent; it is sufficient for our purpose to say, that the inhabitants of Bosnia continued to enjoy all their rights and privileges, without interruption, down to the reign of the late Sultan Mahmoud, who, having succeeded in creating an army disciplined *à l'Européenne*, made the first attempt to

break through the fence, by which the aristocrats and democrats of Bosnia had so admirably guarded their rights and privileges. He commenced by the introduction of a few reforms in the costume of the people, then the occupation of all the forts and strong places by the Nizam, and last of all, the arbitrary system of obtaining recruits by having recourse to the European mode—the conscription; this led to a serious revolt, which caused the measure to be withdrawn, and the people again remained quiet till the massacre of the Janissaries, when a new epoch commenced, perhaps the most bloody and disastrous in the history of Bosnia.

The Janissaries, from their first organization, were composed of the robust natives of Bosnia and Albania—a race far more brave and enterprizing than the enfeebled sons of Asia, the Osmanli. A few of this ill-fated corps, having escaped the general slaughter, fled to their countrymen in Bosnia, where, becoming the objects of popular sympathy, reports quickly spread in every direction that the Sultan had abjured the faith of Mahomet, and, with an army of tacticoes and Russian Giaours, was destroying his own subjects, the elect of the Prophet; at the same time, a host of fanatic Mussulman priests were everywhere to be seen, in sackcloth and ashes, exciting the people by their cries of vengeance against the Sultan. It required but little persuasion to raise an insurrectionary army among

a people so warlike, and well trained to arms as the Slavon-Mussulmans of Bosnia. The Vizier of Bosnia, Hadji Mustapha, who had been hitherto popular, endeavoured to convince the enraged multitude of their error: his words of peace were met by cries of death to the Giaour Sultan, and if we are to be baptized, we will choose a prince of our own race, the Czar of Moscovy, as our godfather, but never the descendant of a contemptible Poularki-eating son of Othman.

The insurrection having now extended from Bosnia into Albania, perhaps the existence of the Ottoman Empire—at least, the rule of the Sultan in these provinces—was never in greater danger than at this moment, and may be said to have owed its preservation entirely to the Machiavelian policy of Kosref, the Seraskier, and Reschid Mehmet, the Grand Vizier. These ministers were fully aware of the danger, and that the only chance of checking the revolt would be to arm the Christian population against their old tyrants, the Mussulmans. When the plot was ripe for execution, an unforeseen event deranged their plans—the Russian invasion of Turkey, in 1828. The Divan, with no other troops than the ill-disciplined, ill-appointed Nizam-y-Djedid, found itself in the agony of despair, and now that the country was in danger, regretted the massacre of the Janissaries, who, if they were occasionally mutinous, ever proved themselves, when called

into action against a foreign foe, the bravest soldiers in the empire; and to add to its misfortunes, the Mussulman inhabitants of Bosnia and Albania were in arms against the authority of the Sultan. As a last resource, the Standard of the Prophet was unfurled, hosts of Mahometan priests were despatched all over the country, calling on the faithful to arm in defence of their creed, and the reforming Sultan saw himself reduced to the necessity of imploring the aid of a people, he had only a short time previous devoted to destruction: the insurgents were soothed by promises of future favours, and assurances that the hated conscription should never again be enforced, nor any European form or ceremony introduced, repugnant to the feelings of his faithful Slavon and Albanian Mussulman subjects.

The great mass of the people—the hard-working peasant and the industrious citizens of the towns, who never resort to insurrection unless they are driven to it by some exciting cause—laid down their arms; but every attempt of the Mussulman clergy to create a diversion in favour of the old cry, "Death to the Russian Giaours!" proved abortive, and, for the first time in the annals of Islamism, the Standard of the Prophet was obliged to seek its supporters among the paid soldiers of the Crescent.

It would require a more lengthened space than it is in our power to appropriate, to detail the scenes that

followed, and to which we have alluded more at length while describing our travels in Upper Moesia, on the plain of Cossova. We will, therefore, only add that through the influence of promises never kept, the Slavo-Mussulmans of Bosnia were again induced to return to their mountains; however, having indirectly aided Russia in her invasion, by withholding their assistance when most needed, together with being the most inveterate opponents of the conscription, and every European institution contrary to their laws and customs, the sanguinary Government of Constantinople, which never forgives, determined to take the most ample vengeance, and the Stari Vlah, a space consisting of nearly five hundred square leagues, comprising six districts in Bosnia, and inhabited by more than two hundred thousand Slavo-Mussulmans, was the first to suffer.

When all was quiet, at a time when the Slavo-Mussulman, weary of insurrection, had resumed his habits of industry, a hatti-sheriff of the Sultan suddenly appeared, awarding the whole of the district above-described to Prince Milosh, of Servia, as a recompense for his fidelity to the Ottoman Porte during the Russian invasion. In fulfilment of the imperial mandate, Bosnia was now entered simultaneously by the Nizam, and a large army of Servians, commanded by Milosh: it may be almost unnecessary to say, that the wretched inhabitants were driven from

their homes at the point of the bayonet, the unhappy mother and her helpless infant lay without a shelter by the way-side, and the distress of the exiled wanderer was aggravated by the legalized spoliator being of the same race and language. But their creed! poor humanity, this formed an impassable gulf between the two people!

CHAPTER XVIII.

Insurrection of the Slavonian-Mussulmans in Bosnia—Religious sectarianism in Bosnia—How useful to the Sultan as an instrument of government—Prince Milosh of Servia—Sultan Mahmoud and his reforms—Effects of his death in Bosnia—Vehighi, Vizier of Bosnia—Sketch of the Haiducs and the Ouskoks in Bosnia and Herzegowina—Contrast between the race of Othman and the Slavo-Mussulmans of Bosnia—Battle between the combined forces of the Nizam and the Christians against the non-reforming Mussulmans of Bosnia—Victory of the Vizier Vehighi—Plunder of Bosna-Serai—Disgrace and captivity of the Vizier—Perfidious policy of the Ottoman Government—Critical state of Bosnia—Geographical position—General view of the country—Its mountains, rivers and forests—Productions—Austrian influence in Bosnia—Bosnia in a military point of view—How situated with regard to Austria.

We may extol the enlightened despotism of this or that ruler—the paternal government of another—rejoice in the success of the Sultan's reforms; this is all very well, so long as we remain at home, and allow ourselves to be guided in our opinions by the represen-

tations of an interested party; but the traveller who seeks for his information beneath the surface, and truthfully tells the tale of what he has seen and heard in despotic countries, may bring to light many horrors which otherwise would have lain buried in oblivion. What a debt of gratitude then do we not owe to our glorious ancestors, who, having carved out their own freedom, social and religious, have left us their inestimable blessing, and which can only be appreciated at its full value by him who has wandered much in foreign lands.

The arbitrary ejection of the miserable inhabitants of the Stari Vlah, and which henceforth formed a part of the principality of Servia, gave rise to another insurrection of the Slavo-Mussulmans; but this time the Divan was prepared to meet the insurgents, by arraying against them the Christian population. There was Prince Milosh, who had to defend his new possessions in the Stari Vlah, the Latins of Turkish Croatia, with their brethren of the Greek Church in Herzegowina, headed by the daring Haiducs and Ouskoks of the mountains, who, in conjunction with the Nizam, converted the land into a vast field of carnage. We refrain from attempting a description of the scenes of horror that took place during a contest, in which a fanatic Mussulman and an equally fanatic Christian were the principal actors; we will merely say, that the Slavo-Mussulmans, after performing prodigies of valour, gave

way to numbers, and, for the first time after four hundred years of Mussulman rule, the Cross rose triumphant throughout the whole of Bosnia, Herzegowina and Upper Moesia; and so complete was the victory that if Milosh, Prince of Servia, had possessed a particle of ambition, or the ability to assume the part of a liberator, he might have added these important provinces to his own principality of Servia; in so doing, he would have performed an act of humanity towards the inhabitants, and in all probability have prevented the recurrence of similar scenes which took place at a later date. The ignoble peasant, no doubt dreading the consequences of an undertaking beyond his comprehension, turned a deaf ear to the entreaties of the people, by which he lost the esteem of the whole Servian nation, and was shortly after driven into exile.

Sultan Mahmoud, who appeared to be actuated throughout the whole career of his administration by one governing principle—how, or by what means, he could best enforce upon the people his European reforms, now that the field was cleared of the most formidable among his enemies, at one stroke of his pen (or rather reed) abolished all the fiefdoms in Bosnia, together with the rights and privileges of the citizens of towns, to preserve which, the first renegades had bartered their faith and enslaved their country, by placing it under the rule of a Mussulman sovereign. Previous to this arbitrary measure, the fiefdoms of

Bosnia amounted to more than twelve thousand, under the names of Beglouks, Kapitanis and Spahaliks; and in time of war they could furnish upwards of seventy thousand warriors fully equipped for battle.

A few years afterwards, intelligence of the sudden death of Sultan Mahmoud was received in Bosnia among the Slavo-Mussulmans with universal rejoicing; hundreds of chiefs, supposed to have fallen during the late insurrection, now came forth from their hiding-places; in the meantime, the banner of the Zmai od Bosna again reared its ferocious head, and again the rallying cry of "Death to the Giaour!" was heard resounding from valley to mountain, in village and city, throughout the entire land; fortress after fortress was carried by assault; at the same time, the capital—Bosna-Serai, the stronghold of Islamism—having made common cause with the insurgents, the Nizam, with their allies, the Christians, sent against them by the Vizier, Vehighi Pacha, were beaten in every encounter, and the Vizier himself, having lost his last stronghold, the fortress of Travnik, was obliged to take refuge in the mountains with the remnant of his army, now reduced to about four thousand men.

The Vizier Vehighi, who afterwards became so famous in the history of the insurrection of the Slavo-Mussulmans in Bosnia, was not a man to resign his important trust without a struggle; having secured a strong position in the mountains, and taken possession

of the defile of the Nitisch, which he defended with cannon, he lost no time in summoning to his aid the unhappy Christians, who had already suffered so much from the infuriated Mussulmans, now again become the lords of the land; with these, and a multitude of those daring mountaineers, the Ouskoks of Herzegowina and the Haiducs of Bosnia, the indefatigable Vizier determined to give battle to the insurgents.

The existence of these predatory tribes, known under the name of Ouskoks and Haiducs, and who inhabit the inaccessible defiles of every mountain district in these Slavonian provinces, is a singular fact in the modern history of European Turkey, and without a parallel in any other country; and who could only maintain themselves under a government so weak and singularly constituted as that of the Ottoman Porte. These hardy mountaineers, who style themselves the Champions of the Cross, have been for ages the terror of the Turks—now descending from their native fastnesses, and levying contributions on the rich towns and villages of the Mahometans, and again interrupting the transit of merchandize by the caravan, when the owners happened to be Turks. The Ottoman Government, finding itself unable to attack an enemy who only appeared when certain of success, resolved to make the best of an evil it had no power to remedy, secured to the untameable mountaineers special privileges, and constituted them its Christian military force, for the

defence of those passes and defiles in Herzegowina where it had no hope of seeing its supremacy acknowledged by these children of the mist.

The Haiducs of Bosnia—which is merely the provincial appellation for the Ouskok of Herzegowina—have not been able to form themselves into so powerful a Christian community, the Slavo-Mussulmans, their countrymen, constituting the majority of the inhabitants; still, they equal in bravery and daring their brethren in Herzegowina; and, fortunately for the peaceable Rayah of the valleys and the plains, their strongholds in the mountains served as an asylum to protect them from danger during the continuance of those eternal revolutions, which have so demoralized and desolated unhappy Bosnia.

But to return to the Vizier Vehighi. He was one of those remarkable men we occasionally see in Turkey, rising from the lowest grades in society, displaying military talent and capacity for governing, rarely surpassed by any of our master-minds in Western Europe; equal to the famous Grand Vizier Reschid Mehmet in all the arts of intrigue, he was far superior to him as a military commander; and if the Slavonians only possessed a tithe of the talent for scheming and intrigue inherent in the Greek and Asiatic Turk, their bravery would long since have won for them the sovereignty of European Turkey. Exhibiting both in their enmity and friendship that openness of character which knows

no deceit, and with only one principle to actuate them —the justness of their cause—they rush to the encounter, no matter how strong may be the fortress, or powerful the enemy; and should they prove successful, they rarely take advantage of their position—a few honeyed words and promises from the man in power (always an Asiatic Turk) sufficing to quiet their fears for the future; and with that reliance on truth which forms the basis of their character, they disband their fortes, and return to their homes, congratulating themselves on the great victory they have achieved. If to this we add the *mélange* of religious sects—Greek, Latin and Mussulman—and consequently the absence of all unity of purpose among the inhabitants, particularly in Bosnia, we have enumerated the principal cause why this beautiful country, so strong in its mountains and easy of defence, has remained so long under the weak government of the Sultan. However, take them in the mass, the Bosnians, like their brethren the Servians, are a noble race, full of energy and good sense; and if they were once independent, and governed by a prince of their own choice, as we see in Servia, who knew how to conciliate the sectarians of each opposing creed, we feel confident that they are capable of arriving at a high degree of civilization.

We have said that the Slavo-Mussulman insurgents had taken possession of the capital, Bosna-Serai, and of Travnik, the residence of the Vizier, together with the

important fortresses of Bania-Louka, Livno, Skopia and several others; in short, they held military occupation of the country, with the exception of the Pachaliks of Novi-bazar and Svornik, whose Pachas, with great political prudence, remained neutral, till a battle, which was hourly expected, should decide the fate of Bosnia.

Aware of the preparations of the Vizier, the insurgents, with their usual imprudence, despising alike the Vizier, the Nizam and their Christian allies took no precautions to guard the passes leading to the adjoining provinces, through which the indefatigable Vizier received supplies of additional troops, ammunition, and even artillery. Believing themselves certain of success, they tumultuously marched, to the number of twenty-five thousand; and having taken up a position on the plain of Vitesch, within sight of the Vizier's camp on the mountains, dared him to the combat.

The subtle Vizier, aware of the character of the enemy he had to deal with, felt certain that so many gallant chiefs could not long remain confined to their tents without quarrelling among themselves. Voussin Bey, who was in reality the hero of Bosnia, had for his rivals the powerful Beys, Hamsa and Hussein, who, full of their own important services, would not consent that the Zmai od Bosna should rule the land, and retired from the field with several thousands of their followers to defend their own separate beglouks.

The Vizier, who through the instrumentality of his agents, was perfectly aware of every incident that took place in the camp, felt that the moment was come when he must give up the enterprize altogether, or strike a blow which offered every chance of success. After a few encouraging words to his faithful tacticoes, and promises of protection to the assembled multitude of Rayahs, the whole mass of warriors, with a terrific shout, descended like an avalanche upon the insurgents. The battle must have been terrific, since the piesmas of the Christians record that the rebels were completely routed, with the loss of a thousand men—a victory unparalleled in the annals of a Bosnian insurrection.

This engagement destroyed the last hope of the Slavo-Mussulmans—its influence was felt in Albania, and every part of European Turkey: the whole of the strong places in Bosnia surrendered to the Vizier, who, supported by the Christian population, became absolute master of the entire country. The vengeance of the stern conqueror was awfully severe—the Moullah and the Bey, the Cadi and the Spahi were alike decapitated, or sent in chains to Constantinople, as trophies of his victory; and he received, in return, the public thanks of the Divan, and a sword, richly ornamented with brilliants, from the Sultan.

The plunder of Bosna-Serai, the richest town in European Turkey, together with many other Slavo-Mussulman towns and konaks, belonging to the wealthy

chieftains of Bosnia, which fell to the share of the Vizier, rendered him one of the richest subjects of the Porte; he, however, afterwards proved to be a just and conscientious ruler, and not only the Mussulman, but the Christian, had every reason to be satisfied with his government.

In a country like Turkey, where the government is weak, and suspicious of the popularity of its high officials, reports had been circulated, and found their way into the councils of the Divan, that the Vizier was ambitious of erecting for himself an independent principality in Bosnia. The circumstance of his being beloved by the army, and the whole Christian population, who still entertain for his name the most reverential gratitude, was sufficient to justify his removal. The Divan, however, did not feel itself strong enough to recal a man so universally popular, in the ordinary way; the task was, therefore, secretly confided to Hosref, the Pacha of Belgrade, and accomplished with the usual amount of treachery and low-cunning, that so often distinguishes the policy of the Ottoman Porte and its agents, on similar occasions.

The Pacha of Belgrade and the Vizier of Bosnia, being neighbours, were on terms of the most friendly intimacy, a visit of several days from one to the other was, of course, no uncommon occurrence, and the unsuspecting Vizier, unconscious of the approaching storm, saw nothing to apprehend when the

perfidious Pacha came to his fortified residence at Travnik, where he was received with the usual demonstrations of a hearty welcome. The day was spent in feasting and reviewing the troops, and when the two dignitaries separated for the night, the poor Vizier was but little aware, when he retreated to his harem, that a council was about to be assembled in his own residence, composed of the civil and military officers of his household, to deliberate as to how, and by what means, the lion they all feared might best be secured in his den.

However, state criminals are quickly disposed of in Turkey, and without much regard to the feelings of any man, of whatever rank or consideration, who may have lost favour at head-quarters Amidst the lamentations of the ladies of his harem, and the servants of his household, the Vizier was denounced as a traitor, spat upon as a Giaour, manacled as a felon, and hurried off in the dead hour of the night to appear before the Divan at Stamboul, together with his papers and personal wealth, which is said to have been enormous. In the meantime, Hosref, the Pacha of Belgrade, who had succeeded so admirably in carrying into execution the commission confided to him, was rewarded by being nominated to the vacant post, and became the Vizier of Bosnia.

The real causes that led to the disgrace of the Vizier Vehighi were never publicly known. As a traveller, I was much indebted to the kindness of the Vizier, on a

previous visit to Bosnia; and having had many opportunities of witnessing how wisely and humanely he had wielded power, and the numerous improvements he had effected in the country, his fate to me was deeply interesting. The people appeared to be content and prosperous; and although divided in faith, they were beginning to understand that they were of the same race, and linked by the same ties of language, tradition and country; when the Vizier, whether justly or unjustly, fell a victim to the machinations of his enemies.

In a political point of view, the destruction of the Slavo-Mussulman aristocracy, and the elevation of the Rayah to social rights, placed the centralization of power in the hands of the Divan, and might have been productive of great advantage to a government who knew how to avail itself of the circumstance; but, unfortunately for the peace of Bosnia, the Divan, still pursuing its old system of governing by means of the religious dissensions of the people, alarmed at the strength and numbers of the Rayah population, who now, conscious of their power, might be tempted to declare themselves independent, like their brethren of Servia, resolved to establish an equilibrium of interests by supporting the Slavo-Mussulman party, and receiving them again into high favour. To further this object, the rebel chiefs, who had taken refuge in Austrian-Dalmatia and Croatia, on the failure of the late insurrection, were pardoned, and in many instances reinstated

in their fiefdoms, as Aiens of the Government. These, with a host of inferior Kapitanis and Spahis, who had been exiled to Asia, were allowed to return, on giving some security for their future good behaviour.

Abandoned to their own resources, the unhappy Rayahs saw themselves again degraded to the condition of serfs, and again despoiled of all the fruits of their patient industry by a multitude of penniless adventurers who had lost the whole of their possessions in the late insurrection. In vain they implored the protection of the new Vizier Hosref; the commands of the Divan, *divide et impera*, must be carried into effect, and the Christian wolves taught to know their place, and that they owe obedience to the True Believers.

Happily for the poor Rayahs, the late Vizier Vehighi, surnamed the Giaour, had sown some good seed among the Slavo-Mussulmans, since several chiefs of that party openly espoused their cause during the revolutionary outburst of 1843, and in various subsequent attempts to defend themselves against the rapacity of their local tyrants up to 1850. In the meantime, Panslavism has made many converts among the ranks of the more enlightened of the two contending creeds; but the great mass of the inhabitants still remain ignorant of the value of unanimity, without which there is no hope of success, when a people are struggling for freedom. With the exception of a few districts in Herzegowina and Turkish Croatia, we were informed that the Chris-

tians have abstained from taking any part in the rebellion of their brethren, the Slavo-Mussulmans. It is, however, noticeable that among the chaos of contending chieftains who at this moment have raised the standard of insurrection, not one, as yet, has succeeded in elevating himself above his rivals, so as to be able to command and direct the operations of the whole.

Bosna-Serai, the capital, remains tranquil under the cannon of the fortress, Bosna-var; but everything depends upon the success of the insurgents at Mostar, in Herzegowina, and at Livno, Jaitza, and Bania-Louka, on the river Verbas; should these important forts fall into their hands, a combined attack is to be made upon the town of Novi-bazar, where they intend to form a junction with the Albanians, who are equally hostile to the Turkish Government, and equally desirous of overthrowing the Government of the Sultan. It would appear from the accounts Veli Bey received from his agents, that these fierce warriors, usually so reckless of life, have become more wary in their tactics, confining themselves chiefly to a system of guerilla warfare, well adapted to a mountainous country like this, abounding with gorges and defiles, where a handful of determined men would be sufficient to annihilate an army. In case either of victory or defeat, we may confidently assert, that the tie which bound the Slavo-Mussulmans of Bosnia to the House of Othman is for ever rent asunder; and the Divan must now be aware, in wit-

nessing the deplorable state of Bosnia, how culpable was the act which induced it to withhold its favour from the Christians. These have ever been the most industrious and peaceable of all its subjects, and must be equally desirous as their Mahometan brethren to see their enfranchisement from the rule of a power which has been to them, in every age, an oppressor; and whether Christian or Mussulman, they now make no scruple of declaring to the traveller that they are ready to submit to the rule of any of their native chieftains, who may have sufficient influence to reconcile their religious dissensions, give peace to their country, and secure to them the possessions of their fathers.

Bosnia, according to the Turkish division of its provinces in Europe, consists of three distinct countries —Bosnia or Botsinaki; Turkish Croatia (better known under the name of the Kraina) and Herzegowina, the ancient Choulm; taken altogether, this fine province may be compared to a mountain fortress intersected by deep defiles, gorges, and occasionally displaying tiny plains and valleys of extraordinary fertility. It is separated from Austrian Croatia by the rivers Save and Ouna, and a range of mountains on its east and north-east frontier; from Macedonia by the Char-dag, the Scardus of the Ancients; and from Albania and Tchernegora, by a chain of towering peaks—the highest, Mount Kom, rising to a height of nearly ten thousand feet.

Of these three countries, Herzegowina is the least fertile; still it produces wine and oil in abundance; and if it possessed a population sufficiently intelligent, the nature of the soil and its situation adapt it admirably to the cultivation of fruit trees of the most favoured clime. Bosnia and the Kraina, lying more to the north, are famous for their fine forests, to which we must attribute the cold and heavy rains, so prevalent in these countries during the spring and autumn. In these vast forests, where the richness of the vegetation equals that of the finest virgin land, the traveller may journey days together without meeting a single human being, but sees at every step the most charming pictures of nature, in her loveliest forms; projecting rocks covered with every species of creeping plant; gigantic mountains shooting up to the heavens; valleys and defiles with their rushing streams, clear as crystal, occasionally forming a picturesque cascade; here impenetrable thickets, and there the wild cherry, plum and pear mingling their gay blossoms with the dark verdure of the giants of the forest—the wide-spreading oak, the beech and the lofty poplar. As may be supposed, in these half-deserted countries, every species of game abounds; likewise, the wolf, the bear and the wild boar.

Among the productions of Bosnia, the maize and millet arrive to great perfection, and in some favourable districts, the tobacco plant and rice. However, the

Bosnians, a warlike people, like their brethren of Servia, have no predilection for agricultural pursuits; roaming from valley to mountain plateau, armed to the teeth, accompanied with their flocks and herds, better suits the character of the people; consequently we see the finest arable land appropriated to grazing. Again, the population is very inconsiderable, when we remember the vast extent of country and the richness of the soil—scarcely amounting to a million four hundred thousand, including the Kraina and Herzegowina—not a fifth of what the country might maintain, even under an imperfect system of husbandry.

Bosnia has the advantage of being traversed by numerous rivers, all of which, as usual wherever the race of Othman hold their sway, lie in a state of nature; the principal of these are the Bosna, which gives its name to the country, the Drina, the Limm, the Verbas and the Ouna; each of these rivers might easily be rendered navigable. At present we see decaying trunks of enormous trees at every eddy, forming (aided by the mud) ramparts which must have required centuries to rear up; these, with the help of sand-banks, so completely obstruct the current, that after heavy rains in low lands the country becomes inundated, and marsh miasma is generated. The Drina, which takes its rise in Upper Moesia, passes by the town of Svornik, and forms the boundary between Bosnia and the principality of Servia; and after receiving the waters of the Lim

and Bosna, runs into the Save, which discharges itself into the Danube. The Bosna passes through the centre of Bosnia, and could be rendered navigable from the plain of Bosna-Serai; the Verbas, from Bania-Louka; and the Drina from Vischegrad; and thus open a market for the produce of Central and South Bosnia; and by means of the Save, form a water communication with the provinces of Austria on the Lower Danube; and if to this we add the unexplored mines in Bosnia, the existence of gold and silver in nearly the whole of the rivers and rivulets, coal and iron cropping out in so many directions; what a boundless stage is opened, even in this province alone, to the industry and enterprize of Europe, when the destructive rule of the Turk shall be no more—who has surpassed every other people that rose to power by the sword in the art of destroying the human race, and leaving every country that fell under his domination a desert.

It is by no means improbable that the inhabitants of Bosnia may be called upon, at no distant period, to defend their country against their powerful neighbours, Russia and Austria—the latter firmly seated on their frontier in Dalmatia, the banks of the Ouna and the Save. It is well known that the insurrection of the non-reforming Mahometans, now raging in Bosnia, commenced in the Kraina (Turkish Croatia), on the frontier of Austria; without crediting a tithe of the reports we heard, so current among the Turkish autho-

rities in Bosnia, that the insurgents were armed and instigated to revolt by Austrian agents, as a retaliation upon the Ottoman Porte for not surrendering the Hungarian refugees, there cannot be a doubt that Bosnia, the Kraina and Herzegowina would admirably round the possessions of Austria in this part of her empire, particularly the Kraina, running, as it does, like a wedge into her possessions on the Ouna and the Save. The inhabitants of the Kraina are also, for the most part, Roman Catholics, and as co-religionists of Austria, they have ever manifested a desire to place themselves under the rule of that Power; and if we refer to history, we shall find that they have aided the Imperial troops in their repeated invasions of Turkey by way of Bosnia; and now, while the Slavon-Greeks, their countrymen, remain neutral, they are found fighting in the ranks of the non-reforming Slavo-Mussulmans. Yet we cannot believe that the latter, the most patriotic of all the inhabitants of Bosnia, would willingly exchange the rule of the Turk, bad as it is, for that of the Austrian.

The Kraina, of every other frontier of Bosnia, owes but little to nature as a defensive position—the forests are not dense, nor the defiles dangerous; and as to the forts and karaouls, they would be of no use whatever against the science of modern warfare. Beyond the river Ouna, the valleys are sufficiently broad to permit artillery to ascend to the basin of Sanna and Gomonitza, and an army might probably penetrate, with compara-

tive safety, to the gorges of the rivers Verbas and Bania-Louka; but here, unless they were certain of being joined by the inhabitants, entirely composed of Slavo-Greeks and Slavo-Mussulmans, their further advance might be checked with the greatest ease, in a district where mountains shoot up in every direction, abounding in narrow defiles and gorges. Even the rivers, whose course must be followed by an army, take a most tortuous direction, forming innumerable angles, at every one of which we find a little fort; and although unavailable as a regular defence, they would be sufficient, in the hands of a few determined men, at least to annoy an enemy in its progress. Besides, should an enterprizing chief succeed in forcing a passage through these defiles, and gain possession of the capital, Bosna-Serai, unless he was supported by some powerful party among the people, his position would be most precarious, owing to the nature of the surrounding country, and the facilities it offers for carrying on a successful guerilla warfare.

Prince Eugene, of Savoy, one of the most experienced and enterprizing generals of any age, having obtained possession of the capital, while congratulating himself on having achieved the conquest of Bosnia, found himself taken in a species of trap—an extensive basin-like plain, from which there was no outlet, except through a terrific defile, so narrow that a barricade of trees thrown across the pass, would be sufficient to arrest his further

progress. To advance or retreat was equally hazardous, and to remain shut up in a town, cut off from all communication with the rest of the country, threatened starvation to his troops; from all these difficulties he was extricated by a timely arrangement with the chieftains of Bosnia, who allowed him to retire, during the night, by the same route he had entered their country.

We have already shown the practicability of an invasion of Bosnia through Turkish Croatia, its weakest frontier, and the difficulties and dangers an army would have to encounter, when arrived in the interior of the country. Austria, also, commands another point of invasion, from Dalmatia and Ragusa, which would no doubt be simultaneously attempted with the other, and might succeed, provided that neither of the armies met with any serious check in their career. For instance, to an army in possession of the River Narenta, and the heights that separate Dalmatia from Herzegowina, there would be no great difficulty in advancing, by strong detachments, as far as the fortress of Stolatz, and even to Mostar, the capital of Herzegowina, and still more northwards, towards Vilno. From hence every point is defended by nature, and in some places by forts: these, however contemptible they might be as a means of defence in a level country, their position in this, where every rock could be converted into a citadel, gives them importance; hence, it would be impossible

to make an attempt in advance, without being exposed to a serious attack—the defiles and passes being so narrow, that in some places scarcely two men could march abreast.

On the other hand, to attempt to scale the mountain rampart that separates Bosnia from Herzegowina, and from which the descent is practicable to the basin of Bosna-Serai, covered as the whole range is with dense forests and isolated peaks of rock, must occasion a serious loss of time, and the most Herculean labour; besides, it would be impossible to transport either ammunition or provisions, except such a portion as each man could carry about his person. It is true, that an army once in possession of these mountains, having its rear well protected by strong detachments, from which to draw provisions and ammunition, might threaten, nay, destroy the independence of these provinces: as these heights command all the passes leading to the basin of Novi-bazar, the plains of Cossova, and the Metoia, in Upper Moesia, together with the route leading to Mostar on one side, and Bosna-Serai on the other, the capitals of Herzegowina and Bosnia.

In a country like Bosnia, so admirably defended by an encircling chain of mountains, appearing to the eye of the traveller a perfect wall of rock, the difficulty of forcing an entrance into the interior would seem to preclude the possibility of a successful invasion, even

to an enterprizing commander. He would also have to contend against the utter absence of roads; and should the weather prove wet, such is the nature of the soil as almost to render it impossible, either for man or horse, to advance. To which we may add, the more numerous the army, the greater would be the difficulty to find subsistence; and to march by any route except the horsepath of the caravan, at best the precipitous bed of some mountain torrent, it would be necessary to cut a passage through the forests: again, the villages are always concealed in some sequestered nook, so that those unaccustomed to the country would consider it to be a desert. How then could an enemy maintain itself?

Under any circumstances, we cannot suppose that Austria would attempt the invasion of Bosnia, a country where, in former years, she was so signally defeated; to which we may add, the Austrian is not popular in these provinces, except among the Roman Catholics of the Kraina, and they would prove too insignificant in numbers to afford any effectual aid, scarcely numbering, as we before observed, three hundred thousand; and such is the bitterness of religious feeling, that alone would be certain to arm the whole population, both Slavo-Greek and Slavo-Mussulman, against her. Even without invasion, Austria has it in her power to injure the interests of the Sultan, by

supplying the insurgents with the *matériel* of war, and by tacitly encouraging her own Slavonian troops to desert, and assist their brethren and co-religionists in this part of his dominions.

In a political and commercial point of view, the annexation of Bosnia, Herzegowina, and the Kraina, to the Slavonian possessions of Austria, on the Adriatic and the Save, would be most advantageous to the inhabitants, by opening to them a maritime communication with the commercial States of Europe, from which they are now excluded. To Austria the union would be of the highest importance: the possession of Bosnia, with its annexed provinces, the Kraina and Herzegowina, would form, altogether, one of the strongest mountain frontiers of any state in Europe, and at the same time secure to her peaceable possession of a long line of coast on the Adriatic, everywhere open to an attack, in the event of a war with the Ottoman Porte; and she cannot forget that during the palmy days of Turkish power, it was the Slavo-Mussulmans of Bosnia, those daring mountaineers, who ravaged and laid waste Austrian Croatia, Hungary, Styria, Carniola, on to Laibach and Trieste.

CHAPTER XIX.

Character of the inhabitants of Bosnia—Social institutions—Self-government of the people—Its beneficial tendency—Native bards—Music—Superstitions—Similarity between the Slavonians of European Turkey and those of Hungary and Austria—Moral conduct of the people—Marriage ceremony—Mode of burial—Service of the Koran—Customs and manners—Medical science—Prevalent diseases—The bans in Bosnia—Mode of living—Cookery—State of agriculture—Forests—Mineral treasures in Bosnia—Iron-works—Mineral springs.

In manners, customs and language, the inhabitants of Bosnia and its sister states, the Kraina and Herzegowina, resemble those of the Servians we have already described, and, like them, whether Christian or Mahometan, display the same generous feeling and hospitality. Even now, notwithstanding the demoralized state of the country, the Frank traveller who refrains from identifying himself with any of

the various religious and political parties that distract the country, may roam in any direction without the slightest danger, and be certain to receive a welcome reception alike from the Mahometan and the Christian. It is true, we occasionally hear of acts of brigandage, but, on inquiry, they generally arise from some political motive. In this respect, the moral character of the Slavonian is superior to that of the Greek; he is not mercenary, and never a robber merely for the purposes of gain. We must not, therefore, give implicit credence to the accounts of the Austrians, who describe Bosnia as a country infested by brigands, since it is the interest of that power that these countries should not be visited by any traveller from the west: the whole of the commerce, such as it is, being in her hands, and the less these provinces are known to the great world, the greater is the hope that she may, at some future period, annex them to her dominions, or at least exercise over them something in the form of a protectorate.

The social organization of the Bosnians is similar to that of the Servian principality, the country is divided into nahias, or circles, and these are subdivided into knejines, or communal tribes, and notwithstanding the numerous insurrections that are continually taking place, these institutions of the

people remain unchanged; each tribe, or tribes, where it cannot be done openly, secretly elect their own chief, and administer the affairs of the community by a representative form of government—a perfect patriarchal republic. In short, the real tendency of the Slavonian inhabitants of European Turkey is the federal system; and whatever may be their ultimate fate, any attempt of a new ruler to introduce among them the bureaucracy and individual administration of other states, would be certain to excite universal discontent.

Like all mountaineers, the Bosnians are much attached to their country, and expatiate with great complacency on the excellence and abundance of its products—their grain, their honey, their flocks and herds, all of which they affirm to be unequalled of their kind; nor are they insensible to the picturesque beauty of their luxuriant valleys, dense forests and lofty mountains. Taken altogether, the peasant of Bosnia is more intelligent than the peasant of Western and Central Europe; this is referrible to the nature of their social institutions, which obliges him to examine and decide for himself, and take a part in the discussion of the affairs of the community of which he is a member; whereas, in the majority of the countries of Europe, the Government alone wills and acts, leaving the mind of the people to sink into inertness.

The system of self-government, so general among the Slavonians of these provinces, and which the Turkish Administration of former years in some degree encouraged, leads to a very different result; hence the traveller hears with astonishment, not only the inhabitants of towns and villages, but the shepherd of the mountain, discuss his subject of complaint, point out the remedy for the evil, and pass sentence of condemnation upon the measures of the Vizier, and the administration of his civil officers, with a perspicuity, moderation and good sense not to be expected, from his imperfect education and want of intercourse with the great world. Again, if these people do not enjoy the advantages of the printing press, they have a not inefficient substitute in their native bards, who are constantly reciting the glorious deeds of their ancestors, and the most important events in the modern history of their country and everyday life.

Of every description of poetry, the bard of Bosnia prefers the epic—of which Tavor, the god of war, is frequently the hero; these poems are sung by the farmer at his plough, the shepherd while attending his flocks and herds, and the women, whether walking, working or dancing. They have also their piesmas—a species of composition between prose and poetry, not unlike the songs of Ossian; these always

record some event in the ancient and modern history of their country. Neither must we forget their love songs, which are very numerous, and generally end with the chorus, " Lelo, Lodo, il lelo, lol, idolo" (the god and goddess of love).

The fairies also occupy a high place in the estimation of these bards; a variety of poetical effusions are devoted to their praise; and the tiny sprites are always painted in the most captivating colours; hence the appellation of vila (fairy) is a term of endearment, applied by a Slavonian alike to his mistress, his horse and his dog. In addition to the good fairies, they have another species much dreaded, and who they never mention without repeatedly crossing themselves, or having recourse to their talisman. Many of the national epic poems, piesmas and lyrical effusions of the Slavonian tribes in Turkey, possess considerable beauty, and if they were collected and translated, would materially tend to elucidate the ancient and contemporary history of the people. The wandering bard with his gousla or his lute, journeys far and wide, the welcome guest at every hut: the vices and virtues of the Sultan; the heroic exploits of their chiefs; the martial deeds of the Haiduc; even the political history of the country, is composed and sung by these modern Homers, with the fidelity of the most accurate historian.

With respect to their music and singing, the Servians possess a few pretty little airs, which might please from their novelty; but the natives of European Turkey, of whatever nationality, cannot claim a high rank for their musical compositions; at best, their manner of singing is wearisome and monotonous, particularly the Turks, who seem to think that the great beauty of singing consists in dwelling for a considerable time upon one note, and then swelling it at intervals, with the whole force of their lungs. Their musical instruments, which every peasant manufactures for himself, consist of the flute or fife, made from the branch of an alder, or a reed, these with the gousla, a species of mandoline, and the bag-pipe, are equally primitive.

The Slavonians of these provinces, particularly the Bosnians, never having been thoroughly converted to Christianity by the Greeks, and persecuted at a later period by the Papal Church as heretics, cherish a belief in various absurd superstitions. Astrology, or, as the Osmanli term it, Munedjdjimlik (looking into futurity), is universally practised by every religious sect, alike in the large towns and the most remote village. There are lucky and unlucky days, observed to the very hour with the utmost fidelity. The flight of certain birds, or meeting with particular animals, is deemed ominous;

dreams are considered of the highest importance, and interpreted with the same gravity as they were by the first patriarchs. Charlatans abound here as in the more civilized countries of the West, and tax the purses of their dupes to a very considerable extent. The Jews and gipsies labour under the accusation of sorcery and witchcraft, particularly if they are old and ill-looking, and sometimes fall victims to the monomania of those who consider themselves, their families, or their flocks and herds bewitched. As an antidote, the Christians resort to the prayers of their clergy, and to a plentiful supply of holy water, the Mahometan to the Koran, and the efficacy of a visit to the tomb of some famous Santon; and if these fail, the charm of the magician or the astrologer is invoked.

The Slavonian of European Turkey is gifted with great facility for learning foreign languages, and displays equal ability in imitating mechanical works. The Osmanli, on the other hand, appears to be destitute of any talent as a linguist, as he is rarely acquainted with any language but his own. The love and respect manifested by children towards their parents and the aged, so pleasing a characteristic of the Slavonian tribes, equally prevails in Bosnia; their sobriety is also remarkable when contrasted with the habits of the western nations; neither are they so

excitable when under the influence of intoxicating liquor. Suicide is a crime nearly unknown in these countries, both among Mahometan and Christian, who are alike fatalists, and submit with patience to the decrees of Heaven: murder by stealth, such as private assassination; poisoning, &c., is never heard of. Revenge for injuries received, the cry of blood for blood, however does exist, but not in the same degree as among the Greeks and Albanians.

Moral purity must have been very general among the ancient Servians, when we find that their language does not contain a single epithet by which to designate a woman of abandoned character; and notwithstanding all that they have suffered, and still suffer from the brutal violence of the privileged class, the Mahometans, they are the most moral of all the nationalities of European Turkey. Forcible abduction, rape, and adultery, according to the Turkish law, are punishable with death, still this law is only enforced when the offence is committed against a Mahometan; when the injured party is a Rayah, a fine and a reprimand are considered a sufficient penalty. The indulgence uniformly exhibited towards a Mahometan delinquent is extremely impolitic in the Turkish Government, and has contributed much to embitter the Christian population towards the rule of the Sultan. We might recount many instances of

the most flagrant misconduct of the Mahometans towards the wives and daughters of the Bulgarian nationality, who are naturally a quiet, peaceable people, and were, no doubt, afraid to resent an insult for which they could not hope to obtain redress; had it, however, been inflicted on the family of a fiery Servian, the offender would have expiated the injury with death.

In Bosnia, the Slavo-Mussulmans make no scruple in seeking for their wives among the fair daughters of their countrymen, the Christians, and even allow them to adhere to the rites of their Church; but a Slavonian Christian never marries with a Mahometan woman, since he would be excommunicated by his Church for taking a heathen to his bosom. In this respect, and indeed in every other connected with religion, we regret to be obliged to record that the Mahometan is far more tolerant than the Christians of the Greek and Latin ritual, who, if they intermarry with each other, provoke the thunder of excommunication from their respective churches.

The marriage contract is made in the presence of witnesses, or in writing, and if this is broken, sanguinary disputes often ensue; the priest afterwards pronounces his benediction, and rings are exchanged. Independent of any pecuniary arrangement between the parties, it is customary for the bride to take to

the house of her husband a cord and a sack, figurative of the care and attention she intends to bestow upon his domestic affairs; and on entering she scatters a handful of paras about the house, to signify that she carries with her abundance. Her first visit to the fountain, from which the household have been accustomed to derive their supply of water, is performed with great solemnity, including prayer, and a discharge of fire-arms; and to aid the young people, presents of cattle, and other things necessary to housekeeping, are made by every member of their respective families and friends.

The wedding feast, according to the circumstances of the parties, generally continues a fortnight, and even longer; during this time the most unbounded hospitality is rendered to all visitors; even the traveller, who may pass through the village, is invited to the festival, when he is expected to join in the usual toasts given on the occasion; and if he can compose an appropriate piesma, he is indeed a welcome guest. Baptism is also celebrated with rejoicings and feasting. The decent interment of the dead is one of the most sacred obligations recognized among the inhabitants, whether Christian or Mussulman. The most insulting language that you can address to a native of these provinces, is to wish that his body may be cast out without sepulture. The

corpse is generally consigned to the tomb within twenty-four hours after death. This dangerous precipitation has had its origin with the Osmanli, in order that the deceased may not be detained from the enjoyments of paradise.

The earth that covers the grave is never more than three feet in depth, and in this the Turks make a hole for the corpse to breathe; and as the deceased is usually buried without a coffin, instances are not uncommon of some poor wretch awaking from a trance, and with great difficulty working his way upwards; while others, too feeble for such a laborious effort, expire in the struggle. Although these breathing holes may prove useful in cases of premature interment, the mephitic vapours they exhale renders them extremely injurious to the health of the inhabitants in the neighbourhood of the cemeteries. The burial service in use among the followers of Mahomet is so beautiful and appropriate, that we have endeavoured to render it as near as possible into English, with the hope it may interest our readers:

"Oh, Almighty God! have mercy upon the living and the dead, upon those who now lift up their hearts unto thee, and upon those who are far distant; upon the high and the low—the men and the women of this assembly. Grant unto us, oh! merciful God! a more prolonged existence, that we may continue to

live in the holy faith of Islam, and when we die, may we still be found steadfast in the same faith. Grant, oh! merciful Father! that our brother, who now sleepeth, may, through the abundance of thy grace, awake to happiness and continue to grow in goodness, and if he has been an evil-doer, forgive him his trespasses. Grant him happiness and glory, that he may approach nearer to thy eternal throne. Preserve him! oh, thou great and eternal being! from the horrors of the grave and from everlasting woe! Grant him to live in paradise, in fellowship with the faithful; and, oh! transform the dark and narrow grave into the mansion of the blessed. Oh! thou all-merciful being! spread over him the shadow of thy love."

Should the deceased be a child, the following is added:

"May this innocent being be received as a pledge of our faith sent before to prepare a place for us, and let his supplications intercede for us, that we may enter the mansions of eternal bliss."

In many parts of the country, when a death occurs, the most lamentable cries are uttered by the women, who tear their hair and lacerate their face and their breast till they stream with blood. In some districts, particularly among the Jews and Armenians, a woman who is celebrated as a mourner

is much in request and handsomely paid for her services. When these direful lamentations first burst upon the ear of the traveller in the wilds and mountains of those provinces, the effect is most startling, and at the same time singularly mournful and depressing to the spirits. Among the Christians, these cries and lamentations are renewed the third day after death, in remembrance of the resurrection of our Saviour. Again on the ninth day, to commemorate his re-appearance on earth, and finally on the fortieth day, in memory of his ascension to heaven.

As may be supposed, the science of medicine has made but little progress in these countries. In many of the principal towns, and at the court of a Pacha, we shall find both a physician and apothecary; the army also is tolerably well provided with medical officers, nearly all of whom are Germans, Italians and Greeks. With the exception of these, the traveller who may be attacked with indisposition, has no hope of medical aid. Happily for the people, there are certain families to be found in every village and commune, who have practised the science of medicine from time immemorial, and they are recorded to have wrought some very extraordinary cures. Intermittent fever and dysentery are the most common diseases; rheumatism

prevails in the mountain districts, but gout and calculous diseases are nearly unknown. In the large towns, and particularly among the Turks who lead a sedentary life, disorders of the biliary and digestive organs frequently occur, to which we may add apoplexy. Cutaneous diseases are not frequent, except among the Jews, the Osmanli, and the Greeks; small-pox occasionally commits dreadful ravages; and the cholera-morbus is more dreaded by the inhabitants than the plague, for neither the talisman of the sorcerer, the prayers of the Papa or the Santon, nor their endless tizans, availed anything to arrest the progress of that dreadful scourge.

The barber is everywhere the surgeon in Turkey; and we certainly cannot but admire the simplicity of his instrument, since the razor serves alike to amputate a limb, shave the beard, or perform the operation of phlebotomy; and no man is a greater adept in its use than an Osmanli. One very singular remedy, much employed here and in the adjoining Slavonian provinces, for nearly every internal disease, is pebbles! A set of charlatans travel through the country with bags of these pebbles, pretending that one is the male and the other the female; they are purchased with avidity by all classes and religious sects, and a healing

draught is composed by rubbing them together in water till it becomes discoloured. Some of these pebbles, remarkable for their form and the beauty of their variegated colours, are used as an external application. Hence, these people seldom or ever apply for the assistance of a medical man, till charms, talismans, prayers, tizans, and every other expedient within their reach has been tried and failed; and, as may be supposed, persons of a delicate constitution never arrive to maturity, consequently, we seldom or ever see the numerous suffering invalids so often met with in the crowded cities of Western and Central Europe. They are also in great measure exempt from consumptive diseases, likewise from insanity and idiotcy, so frequently produced in civilized life through intense study, constant application to business, fanatic zeal, loss of wealth, and disappointed ambition; and notwithstanding the mountainous character of these provinces, with their tiny valleys, secluded dells, deep gorges and defiles, where the sun seldom penetrates, and the climate suddenly changes from the chilling cold of Russia to the burning heat of Asia, we rarely meet with an instance of the goitre, and never with one of those abortions of humanity the Cretin. Still the people are not long-lived; man rarely passes the allotted period of three score years

and ten, while the life of women is considerably shorter; however, they have one advantage over the inhabitant of more civilized countries — their illness is always of short duration.

Among the other reforms of the Sultan, the introduction of a European mode of dress has found no favour in Bosnia; the national costume is similar to that of the inhabitants of Servia, except that the Slavo-Mussulman still wears the turban. Since my last tour in Bosnia, the reforming taste has so far prevailed as to banish altogether the enormous kourdjak, a cylindrical turban, and the kaouk of the Janissaries. The scarlet fez used by the Turkish military and the officials properly belongs to the Albanian costume; and among all the various coverings for the head, it is at once the most inconvenient and the least graceful, as it generally rests on the ears, and has the effect of pressing them down till they become a deformity. As a protection against the heat, cold, or rain, it is of no use whatever; in summer the face is broiled, and when it rains, unless you are provided with a capote, it serves admirably to conduct a stream of water down the neck of the wearer.

Every Mussulman wears a moustache, which he colours black most artistically; and in obedience to the commands of the Koran, he has his whiskers

and head closely shaven, leaving a tuft at the crown of the head, in order that his guardian angel, at the day of judgment, may have something by which to lift him from the grave. Beards are only worn by the Hadjis, who have made a pilgrimage to Mecca, and a few old men who have rendered themselves remarkable for their wisdom.

The whole population of these provinces, both men and women, with few exceptions, dye their hair—the favourite colour is black; and to say the truth, they are adepts in the art; for the eyebrows and eyelashes they use what they call *schischark*, a green nut, which becomes black when burnt; and for the hair another substance, which they term *kna*. Neither is it for the hair alone, that the assistance of art is invoked. The quantity of cosmetics employed by the women is astonishing; even the poorest peasant is not without them and perfumes: oil of roses, rose-water, extract of aloes, musk, saffron and amber, are among the principal. They paint the cheeks with the powder of the *Iris florentina*, and the nails of the fingers with the *Lavsonia inermis*, and to remove superfluous hair on the face, a mixture of lime and alum is employed with great advantage.

The Slavonians have learned these arts from the Greeks and the Osmanli, who excel in preparing

perfumes, dying the hair, perfecting the eyebrows, giving additional lustre to the eyes, and in every attempt to improve the beauty of the person; but, alas! the constant application of cosmetics, and the immoderate use of the warm bath, has the effect of rendering the fair creatures hideous and wrinkled before they attain the age of thirty.

The costume of the women of the better classes is Oriental, graceful, and well adapted to conceal any defect in the person; they appear to great advantage with their tiny feet stuck into a gay slipper, when seated on a divan or moving about in a room; but once in the streets muffled up in a yashmak, and waddling along in strong boots and slippers, they remind one of a duck out of water. The popular opinion that the Star of the Harem is distinguished for her corpulency, is not correct. The Oriental has a very correct taste in these matters, and selects his women with the judgment of a connoisseur; however, as they advance in life they become *embonpoint*, the result of seclusion and indolence.

The towns and villages in Bosnia are similar to those we already described in Servia; and in a country where wood may be had for cutting, and where every peasant is his own architect and builder, a hut is soon erected at little expense either of time

or labour. The Koulas, a species of fortified castle, previous to the reforms of the Ottoman Porte, abounded in Bosnia; they were occupied by the feudal lords of the land; since this time they have been in great part destroyed by the Turkish Government, in its eternal wars with those enemies of all change, in their institutions, customs and manners. The hans are usually superior to those found in the other provinces of European Turkey; they are provided with a large stove and an immense stable, frequently capable of receiving from two to three hundred horses, and never less than fifty. They have their ostler (sciss) and waiter (odadji), and a Mahometan for a landlord, who, with the kindness and hospitality so natural to a Slavonian, makes it his study to render the stranger contented while he remains under his roof. The hisab (reckoning) of the hanji is made verbally, or by notches cut in a piece of wood. The amount is always trifling, and the honesty of the people so remarkable, that they never think of overcharging the stranger. This observation, however, only applies to the Slavonians and Albanians; as to the Zinzars and Greeks, particularly the latter, they make no scruple to impose upon you, not only an exorbitant bill, but if it can be done with impunity, to pilfer the contents of your saddle-bags.

The meat generally used in these provinces is lamb or mutton, excellent in quality and flavour; veal is never met with, and beef only in the large towns; fowls may be had anywhere; geese and ducks are never eaten by a Mussulman, nor game, unless the blood of the animal has been drawn previous to death. Fish is only eaten during Lent, yet the rivers everywhere abound with excellent trout. With respect to vegetables—salads, lettuces and cucumbers, are very much in demand. White beans form a staple commodity in the *cuisine*. Potatoes and peas are a great rarity. Fruit is everywhere excellent, particularly the water-melon. There are public bakers in all the large towns. The hanji usually combines that trade with his other occupations. Wine, which is always of a red colour, may be procured at every han, together with raki and slivovitza, a spirit made from corn; they have also a variety of liquors, prepared from aniseed, cinnamon, cloves and bitter almonds. Coffee is the beverage of all classes, and always taken without milk or sugar. They rarely grind it to powder, as we do, in a mill, but use instead a pestle and mortar; when sufficiently bruised, it is put into a small saucepan with a little water; just before it comes to boil, they add a few drops of cold water, when it is fit for use; it is then served in a small

cup; and as to flavour and strength, it far excels any made by our expensive and complicated machines.

Although the quality of the milk of the cow in Bosnia is very rich, you never meet with butter, and rarely with cheese; the cream is thick, and when mixed with honey, forms an important article of food among the better classes. Youart, so well known as a cool, refreshing beverage in a hot country, is made by infusing oak-leaves in milk, which imparts to it a sour taste. Nearly all the culinary preparations are too highly seasoned with red pepper, garlic and onions. One of the most favoured dishes with the traveller from Western Europe is the schish-kiebab, which consists of round pieces of meat cut out of a leg of lamb or mutton, and roasted on a little hand-spit; this, with the kiema-kibab, a species of mutton cutlet, also roasted and never overdone, are excellent.

These demi-Orientals eat only twice a-day, the principal meal is in the evening, about sunset. The repast of the wealthy generally consists of ten or twelve dishes and frequently more; among the sweet dishes, the kaimakdja, a compound of eggs, milk and honey, is always served: also the halan; this is made by the confectioners, and sold in little pots, no Turkish kitchen is without it, and when mixed with

flour, semalina, sugar, honey, rose-water, ginger, and other spices, a quantity of dishes under various names are made from it. They have also a great variety of confectionary, of which the balaclava is one of the most famous; there are likewise jellies, blanc-mange, and an endless number of preserved fruits: in the preparations of these, the ladies of the harem are very skilful, and bestow upon them much time and labour.

In the higher ranges of the mountains of Bosnia, the peasants, like the Highlanders of Scotland, make oatmeal into cakes and porridge, which they call kasha; in short, wherever we roam in these provinces we find abundance of provisions, and rarely ever an individual who may be said to be in actual want; and although every tribe and commune provides for the necessities of its poor, the kodji-bachis and elders take good care that they shall work so long as they have health and strength. Enter the smallest hut belonging to a Slavonian, however miserable in outward appearance, and you will be certain to find it neat and tidy; in this respect, these people are far superior to the lower class in Ireland, France, and parts of Italy; and no people are more decorous in their manner of eating, particularly the higher classes, notwithstanding the use of knives and forks is not general.

The agriculture of Bosnia is as primitive and patriarchal as that we have already described among their neighbours, the Servians; artificial grasses are never cultivated, consequently, during the great heat and drought of summer, the shepherd is obliged to seek a subsistence for his flocks and herds in the deep dells and mountain prairies. Bees are a source of great profit to the mountaineer; the honey is of a brownish hue, and the wax is said to be excellent; this with wool, tallow, hides, and fruit, are bought up by the Austrian merchant, who is the sole purchaser in these provinces, and whose profits must be immense.

The forests of Bosnia are left to flourish in all their primitive luxuriance, neither government nor people bestowing upon them the slightest care; we see some of the finest oak-trees, half-burned, or cut down to within a few feet of the ground, where the cultivation of the land has been determined on. Every peasant is at liberty to resort to the forest when he requires a supply of firewood. In some places, acres of pines are destroyed merely for the purpose of obtaining the tar. Other provinces, again, such as Thessaly, and parts of Macedonia, where the rocky mountains are bare of tree or shrub, are entirely without firing; yet many of the rivers that flow through these provinces take their rise in

districts abounding with forests which might easily be cut and floated down the streams as rafts.

We have no historical accounts that the mineral riches of Bosnia have been explored, yet several mountains bear the names of their mineral productions, which seems to justify the opinion that they have been at some period made available. For instance, the mountain Zlatovo denotes, in the Slavonian dialect, the mountain of gold; Zrebernitza of silver, Roudnik of copper, Zeleznitza of iron. Dr. Schultz, who was secretly employed, a few years since by the Vizier of Bosnia, Vchighi, found a rich mine of mercury and indications of silver and gold in several places; but whatever advantages might have resulted from the discovery, have been lost, owing to the sudden disgrace and fall of the intelligent Vizier. At Voinitza, between Bosna-Serai and Novi-bazar, there is a forge for smelting iron, and one or two others in the Kraina. Before the Turkish occupation of these provinces, the iron of Bosnia was cheaper and of a better quality than any other in Europe. Hot and cold mineral springs abound in certain districts, and are said to be most efficacious in the cure of some disorders, attracting numerous visitors from the neighbouring towns and even from Constantinople.

CHAPTER XX.

Return to Novi-bazar—Description of that town—Its importance as a military position—Attempt of Tzerni George, of Servia, to obtain possession—Departure from Novi-bazar—Mountain districts of Upper Moesia and Upper Albania—Inhabitants—Villages—Forests—Climate—Contrast between the Servians and the Arnouts of Albania—Dangerous travelling—Description of the country—The chamois and wild goat—Singular species of the tame goat—Arrival at Gousnee—Revolt of the mountaineers in 1847—Predatory warfare between the mountaineers of Tchernegora and the Arnouts of Upper Albania—Their hospitality, and chivalrous behaviour towards the stranger and women.

We returned by the same route from Bosna-Serai to Novi-bazar, formerly the capital of the Servian monarchy, and the residence of its earliest Krals, when it was known by the name of Rasci, and said to have been founded by the Rasci, a warlike tribe of Servians, whose descendants still in-

habit the banks of the Rasca in the immediate vicinity of the town.

Novi-bazar contains from nine to ten thousand inhabitants, principally Christians of the Rasci tribes of Servians; and whether considered commercially or politically, is one of the most important towns in European Turkey, forming as it does, in a mountain country like this, the gate of entrance to the adjoining provinces. It communicates with Belgrade on the Save and Danube, with Ragusa on the Adriatic, with Salonica and Constantinople, through Macedonia and Thrace, and commands the only direct route to the northern part of Bosnia and the Kraina, and to the south, the only pass that leads to Herzegowina, Tchernegora and Upper Albania.

In no other part of European Turkey have the Turks exercised their destructive propensities to so great an extent as in this part of Bosnia, the home of the Rasci-Servian. In every direction we find ruins of towns, churches, monasteries, forts and castles. The convent of St. George (Djourdjivi-stoupe), situated on the summit of a mountain, a short distance from Novi-bazar, must have been an immense building, if we may judge from the great extent of ruins. At the source of the Rasca we see the remains of another, dedicated to the Holy

Trinity. The splendid ruins of the castles of Djeva, Jeletsch, and a hundred others, commanding every pass leading from the basin of Novi-bazar, sufficiently attests the importance the Krals of Servia attached to the possession of this strong-hold—the cradle of the Servian monarchy—on account of the facility it offered them of pouring down upon their effeminate neighbours, the Byzantine Greeks, until subduing province after province, they assumed the title of Emperor of the Servians, the Bulgarians, Greeks, Albanians, Bosnians, and the Western provinces on the Adriatic.

There cannot be a doubt that if this important position, the province of the old Rasci-Servians, should at any time fall into the possession of an intelligent, warlike people, it will give them the command of the whole of European Turkey. We may be allowed to indulge in this supposition on viewing the central position of the country, and the great number of formidable plateaus which command the entrance into the adjoining provinces, and at the same time afford every facility of descent by following the defiles of so many rivers, streams and torrents, which here have their source. Without the command of these passes the Servians could never have been able to extend their conquests on the Morava and the Drina, on the Strymon, the Maritza

and the Vardar. Tzerni George, the hero of Servia, appeared to be fully aware of the military importance of this part of Upper Moesia, when in 1809, having called to arms the Rayahs, his compatriots, he laid siege to Novi-bazar, and must have taken possession of its crumbling fortress had it not been for the bravery of the Arnouts; who, while one party maintained themselves in the fort, another held in check the fierce mountaineers of Tchernegora, and the Haiducs of the Balkan, till a Turkish army arrived to their assistance.

It might be supposed, that a country of such importance to the Turkish Government, would be provided with some position capable of affording a vigorous defence, but this is not the case; we have not seen a single fort, tower, or town that could withstand a discharge of artillery, and the half-ruined fort of Novi-bazar remains in the same state that Tzerni George left it in 1809. It would appear that the fire of the Osmanli has burnt out, and that they rely more upon the social enmities of nationalities and opposing religious sects to preserve their rule, than any vigorous effort of their own, since they have contented themselves by placing several colonies of Mussulman-Arnouts in peculiarly favourable situations, intended to act as a check upon any movement the Servian Rayahs

might be disposed to make towards gaining their independence; however, these Arnouts, like the Mussulmans of Bosnia, have also been decimated in their continued revolts, and are now so reduced in numbers, and alienated in their attachment to the reforming Sultan, that we doubt much their being able or willing to arrest the march of another Servian army.

We were still accompanied by the Turkish commissioner, Veli Bey, but on leaving Novi-bazar, we found it necessary to accept the services of an armed escort. In fact, there was no other prospect of traversing with safety the wild mountain district that lay before us, inhabited by hostile tribes differing from each other in race, language and creed. There was the Slavo-Rasci tribes intermingled with Mussulman-Albanian-Arnouts, the Slavo-Servians, tribes of the inaccessible districts of Tchernegora, professing the Greek ritual, together with the Albanian-Miriditi tribes, the Malasori and the Klementi adhering to the Latin Church.

Our escort appeared to be men of some importance in their native mountains, a splendid specimen of the Albanian race; their picturesque costume showing their agile, athletic frames to great advantage; and however lawless might be their mode of life, their enmity to the conscription and the introduction of European customs, we had no reason to

apprehend the manifestations of any hostile feeling towards us, for happily among these people, the promise of safe conduct once given is never violated.

These mountains, which separate Albania and Tchernegora from Bosnia, over which our route now lay, are called by the inhabitants the Stara Planina, supposed to be the Scordus of the Romans; they somewhat resemble the Pyrenees, except they are more difficult of access; like them, they have their forests of stunted pine and beech, with here and there a bare calcareous peak, shooting up in its own lofty grandeur; each peak is known by its peculiar name descriptive of its character; for instance, the Jelieb, which rises to a height of seven thousand feet, contains in its centre an imperceptible gorge, which can be traversed on horseback, hence its name. Another stupendous pile, several hundred feet higher, is called the Prokletia, the Cursed; but whence it derives so ominous an appellation, I was not able to ascertain. This mountain joins the Kom, or, as the Arnouts call it, the Skolsch, the monarch of these mountains in European Turkey, rising to a height of between nine and ten thousand feet; ever the most prominent feature in the landscape, and easily distinguished, from the circumstance of its being divided into two separate pinnacles. It can be ascended to a height of six

thousand feet, affording from its summit one of the most splendid and interesting views in European Turkey. You see lying before you the principality of Tchernegora, through which may be traced each separate gorge, defile and ravine, to Cattaro on the Adriatic, appearing on the horizon like a broad silver band. From hence is also seen to great advantage the fine range of mountains in Upper Albania, extending from Prizren and Ipek to the Lake of Scutari. The view towards Bosnia is closed in by a continued calcareous wall, over which is seen rising isolated peaks of naked rock of an elevation exceeding seven thousand feet.

In this mountain district we find several small lakes, evidently occupying the beds of extinct craters. The largest is called the Plava. Most of the rivers that fertilise the adjacent provinces here have their source, with a multitude of torrents now leaping down the sides of a calcareous rock, and again lost to view as they sweep through a subterranean passage. Although the general character of the country bears the appearance of sterility at a distance when viewing its bare naked rocks, the eye is frequently gladdened by the sight of a luxuriant valley, green plateau, and forests of the stately oak; and not a few beautiful shady spots are seen blooming with the labours of the husbandman; however, the prin-

cipal riches of the mountaineers consist in their flocks of sheep and goats, together with the produce of the apiary. In the more elevated mountain districts, the chamois and the wild goat are seen springing from rock to rock with a degree of tameness never witnessed in these animals in our mountain districts of Western Europe, for these people never resort to the chase either as a source of amusement or profit. Wolves and bears abound in the forests; the latter are frequently captured by means of a mixture of honey and raki, when they become intoxicated. This method of taking poor bruin forms a favourite amusement of the inhabitants.

In these valleys and defiles, open to a southern aspect, the continuous roar of the myriad of insects is astounding to the traveller from Western Europe; here we also frequently find in the rents of the rocks an amazing number of dangerous reptiles, snakes and scorpions, who find their way even into the hut of the mountaineer; they are, however, but little dreaded by this primitive people, who are in possession of many antidotes in herbs against every ill to which man is subject; a knowledge of some of these would, no doubt, be found useful, but could only be acquired by a long residence among the inhabitants.

On leaving Novi-bazar for Upper Albania, we continued to travel along the right bank of the

Rasca, which gives its name to the Rasci, by which denomination the whole of the Slavo-Servians were formerly known. We forded several rapid streams, tributaries of the Rasca, and at the village of Dvoievitch crossed that river, now become a rapid torrent, the water rising to our saddle-girths. Here we left the Rasca, and ascended the beautiful valley of the Belotich, where we found the extensive ruins of a town and a convent. Our route from hence was one continued ascent up the bed of some winter torrent, till we came to a fine green plateau, like a bowling-green, when we enjoyed an extensive prospect of the surrounding country, over which rose the Mokra-gora, here and there still streaked with the snows of winter. We now descended, by a zig-zag pathway, into a deep gorge, where we found a village inhabited by Arnouts. The houses were all built of stone, and clustered together around the base of a projecting rock; they consisted of two stories, the lower one serving as a stable for cattle. Each house was in itself a species of little fort, pierced with apertures, for the purpose of permitting the inhabitants to fire on their assailants —so characteristic of a country inhabited by two hostile races, the Arnout and the Slavonian.

We remained an hour or two at the village, to refresh ourselves and our horses, where we found a han

containing the usual accommodation for travellers. We had excellent coffee, fruit, roast lamb, wine and raki, and what was still more agreeable, both the hanji and the inhabitants behaved to us with a degree of courtesy and attention which could not be exceeded in the most civilized village of Western Europe. The Boulouk-bachi, with the principal men of the place having smoked the tchibouque with us, mounted their horses, and accompanied us by the most direct pathway through the mountains to the next village. This courteous escort was repeated by the inhabitants of each village, whether Arnout or Slavonian, till we got to the little town of Roujaia.

After crossing the torrent of the Ouvor, and witnessing its sudden disappearance in a cleft of the rocks, we ascended the strong defile of the Jarout Planina, lined with a fine forest of majestic oaks. On gaining the summit we found another of those green plateaus, so frequent in these mountains, and saw before us the stupendous Jelieb, with its rocky peaks, each resembling a sugar-loaf, and shooting up to a height of at least seven thousand feet.

Our route from here to Roujaia was altogether of an Alpine character. On every plateau we found extensive forests of firs and pines. The principal species of pine were the *Pinus picea*, the *Pinaster*, *Pinus mughus*. The *Pinus picea* and the *Pinus*

brucia attained the highest elevation. In favoured situations these trees were intermingled with the *Larix Europæa*, the *Fagussylvatica, Juniperus nana, Arbutus uva ursi, Vaccinium myrtillus.* In the lower region, among the oak-trees, the wild pear, apple, cherry and plum flourished in great abundance, and, above all, the beautiful *Tilia argentea*, which always gives a lively picturesque effect to the foliage of a forest. The *Populus alba* and *nigra* also arrive here to great perfection, forming a magnificent arbour, which effectually excludes the rays of the sun. The wild vine might be seen twining itself in the branches of trees at an elevation of nearly three thousand feet, and fields of maize several hundred feet higher, while rye, oats and barley throve remarkably well at an altitude of nearly four thousand feet.

The inhabitants of the few villages through which we passed, appeared well supplied with the necessaries of life; always located on the fertile banks of some mountain torrent, their industry was rewarded by abundant crops of the finest corn, particularly maize, and they appeared to be fully aware of the advantages of irrigation. In favoured situations, the vine arrives to great perfection, and several of our choicest fruit trees of Western Europe are no stranger to the orchard. As may be supposed, in a moun-

tainous country like this, the climate varies according to the situation; in some places we were exposed to the burning heat of Africa, in others to the chill cold of the wintry north; and, singular enough, should the wind, even during the height of summer, happen to blow from the Steppes of Bessarabia and Krim-Tartary in South Russia, and no lofty mountain intercepts its progress, all vegetation for the time is suspended, an event as much dreaded by the mountaineers, as the Simoon to the traveller in the desert. Happily, this wind never endures longer than twenty-four hours at a time, and its visit is not a frequent occurrence.

It would appear that the geographical position of these mountains is peculiarly favourable to the physical development of man, since the inhabitants are comparatively the finest race in European Turkey, or, perhaps, in Europe. Still, there is a decided difference in the characteristics of each race—Arnout and Slavonian—they are both equally well grown; if the gigantic proportions of the Slavonian denotes more physical strength, the tall, spare figure of the Arnout, all bone and sinew, renders him an equal match for his more Herculean neighbour. The women also, that we frequently met with in the mountains, accompanied by their ferocious dogs of the ancient Greek race, were fine specimens of the

fair sex; or, perhaps, more strictly speaking, of an Amazon; since each damsel carried in her girdle a poniard, and not unfrequently a pair of pistols: truth to say, they were well-formed, and agile in their movements; and when tripping barefoot across some mountain-torrent, displayed a foot and ankle that would have excited admiration in a ball-room. They seemed to possess considerable vivacity and quickness of intellect, if we might judge from the prompt wit of their repartees.

As we approached Roujaia, and ascended Mount Krouschitza, we had to pass along the side of a succession of the most frightful precipices; here we observed several rapid torrents disappear at our feet in caverns, and break forth into cascades at a considerable depth in the gorge beneath us. On reaching the summit of the Krouschitza, we had a magnificent view of the encircling chain of mountains, the Jelieb, the Haila, Prokletia, Koutsch and the Plava, over which rose the stupendous Kom. Here the Ibar has its source, and also the Makva, which passes through Roujaia. The Ibar is seen rushing through a magnificent defile formed by a high range of calcareous mountains, called the Vratche.

In Roujaia, we passed the night at the house of the Boulouk-bachi, captain of the district—a worthy Arnout—and had every reason to be grateful for

his hospitality, rendered to us with true Oriental courtesy. Roujaia merely consists of from eighty to a hundred houses, grouped together for the mutual defence of the inhabitants, the more pretending residence of the chieftain forming the principal object in the landscape.

At the first dawn of day, we were again in the saddle, on our way to Gousnee; we followed the course of the Makva, under the shelter of a fine forest of fir-trees; this we exchanged for a most fatiguing pathway conducted up the steep sides of the Dobro Planina, through a forest of gnarled beech and pine; however, we had a far more difficult task before us, in the ascent of one of the lesser heights of the stupendous Mount Plava, which must be crossed on our route to Gousnee. At length, worn out with fatigue—for we had to walk nearly the whole of the way—we attained the summit, from whence burst upon us one of the finest and most extensive prospects we had yet seen; there was the whole extent of the mountains of Tchernegora, a perfect chaos of rocks and precipices, with the same encircling chain we described above, but now more fully developed, and heightened in effect by the lake of Plava, glittering like molten silver in the depths beneath; streaks of snow still lay in the crevices of the pinnacled rocks above us, and tiny lakes in the

gorges, forming altogether a miniature picture of the Swiss St. Gothard.

We descended into the fine valley of the Lim, and having forded that river, journeyed along its banks till we arrived at Plava, a considerable bourg most romantically seated on the banks of a lake of the same name. On entering the castellated residence of the Governor, we observed some mementoes of a rather disagreeable character—several human heads stuck upon poles—the trophies of war which the fierce Arnouts had gained in a skirmish with their equally fierce assailants, the predatory hordes of Tchernegora.

On leaving Plava, we had a pleasant ride on the banks of the lake, whence we ascended the deep valley of the Lim to Gousnee; this picturesque river has its source in the neighbouring mountain, the Koutsch, and after receiving into its bosom several rapid torrents clear as crystal, empties its waters into the lake of Plava; we saw several large trout gambolling in the transparent stream, together with a quantity of cray fish. In fact, the whole of these mountain streams abound in excellent trout, but the inhabitants never make use of them except on fast days. The cray fish is of a large species, but being considered unclean, is never used as an article of food. The lake is of a circular form, and may be about six miles in circumference.

Above it rise in majestic grandeur the Baba Visitoris and Mount Bor, partly covered with forests of pine and fir-trees, interspersed with occasional spots of green pasture, on which were grazing flocks of sheep and goats. Here we saw for the first time, a species of goat differing from any other we had previously met with in these mountains; they were of a smaller size, with long silky hair, and without horns. According to the tradition of the people, they had originally come from Upper Egypt. In addition to these, there were a few herds of horned cattle, and the district altogether appeared tolerably well cultivated and evidently fertile, since luxuriant fields of corn were spread about in every direction, interspersed with plantations of tobacco.

We arrived at Gousnee during a moment of great excitement. A few days previous, the inhabitants had succeeded in repelling one of these tchetas that are eternally taking place between the Mussulman-Arnouts of the Gousnee district, and the Slavonian Christians, the Koutschi, one of the most powerful among the confederated tribes of the free mountaineers of Tchernegora. The little town was filled with armed Arnouts, watching an encampment of their enemies, who were to be seen above them on the shelving sides of Mount Koutsch, lying around blazing fires, almost within gun-shot of

the town. The scene was altogether novel to a traveller from the West, and reminded one of what bonnie Scotland might have been in days of yore, when the blue bonnets had determined on crossing the English border. There were the gallant Arnouts in their picturesque costume, the braided jacket and white kilt, each separate phis or clan commanded by its own hereditary chieftain, and bearing its own distinguishing flag; they were armed, as usual, with their peculiar long gun, pistols and handjar; and now seated around blazing fires in the outskirts of the town, they made the woods and mountains re-echo with their monotonous songs, as if daring their hereditary enemies to the encounter.

Gousnee, a small town of about three hundred houses, and the residence of a Turkish Aien, is the most important place in this part of the country; the whole of the inhabitants are Mussulman-Arnouts, placed here as a military colony to defend the frontier against the incursions of the mountaineers of Tchernegora.

We cannot but admire the heroic bravery, constancy of purpose, and devotedness of the Christian tribes of Albania and Servia, who, on the destruction of all that was dear to a high-minded, patriotic people—their altars and fatherland, found a secure retreat in the fastnesses of their native mountains,

and continued for centuries to maintain their wild independence, in spite of every effort of the Ottoman Porte, even in its best days, to subdue them; and now that the Turkish Government has commenced the difficult task of reforming the abuses of centuries, this very circumstance tends to retard the progress of improvement, and prevents the tranquillization of this important portion of the Turkish empire. At the same time it affords a constant pretext for Austria and Russia, under the plea of religious obligation, to interfere with the internal administration of the country. The free tribes of Upper Albania, the Miriditi, Malasori and Klementi, who inhabit the adjoining mountains of this singular country, profess the Latin ritual, rely on Austria, as a Roman Catholic power, for protection. On the other hand their neighbours, the Tchernegori, who adhere to the Greek form of worship, look up to the Czar of Russia as their natural chief.

The existence of so many independent tribes and petty states as we find in this part of European Turkey, has had the effect of demoralizing the inhabitants of the adjoining provinces, who in possession of mountains equally inaccessible, are gradually becoming independent; nearly the whole of the mountain district through which we passed, although nominally belonging to the Turkish Government,

and forming part of the pachaliks of Novi-bazar, Ipek and Prizren, are subject to their native chiefs, and pay neither tax nor tribute to the Porte unless compelled by force. At Roujaia, Plava and Gousnee, we found a Turkish Aien, elected by the people as a semblance of submission; but the authority of these chiefs is powerless, when they attempt to carry into effect any ordinance of the Sultan at variance with the customs and manners of the people.

In the revolt of 1847, occasioned by the endeavours of the Pachas of Novi-bazar, Ipek and Prizren, to enforce the conscription, these dignitaries were obliged to submit to the dictation of the people, or quit the country. In several of the communes in the vicinity of Tchernegora, where the population profess the Greek ritual, they acknowledge the spiritual authority of the Vladica (prime bishop) of that little state, and are merely held in check by the forts of Spouge, Podgoritza, and one or two others, from making common cause with their free brethren of the mountains.

During our excursions in these mountains, we everywhere heard lamentable details of the marauding expeditions of the Tchernegori; within the last few years that part of Albania, in the vicinity of Scutari, has principally suffered. In Herzegowina, where the inhabitants are Slavonian, and adhere for

the most part to the Greek ritual, whole districts, with their forts and villages, have been added to the territories of the Vladika. Here, where the mountains are sufficiently elevated to form something like a frontier, the inhabitants, Arnout and Tchernegori, pursue an almost incessant predatory warfare on the property of each other; an armistice, however, is occasionally agreed upon between the belligerents, but as the slightest provocation is sufficient to cause a renewal of hostilities, they live in continued apprehension of a visit from each other. Perhaps the most interesting trait in the character of these people, whether Arnout or Slavonian, so opposed to each other in creed and race, is their well-known chivalry. For instance, should a stranger be travelling in the country, who is not a party to their quarrels, hostilities are suspended till he is beyond the reach of their bullets. They behave with equal courtesy to a woman, whether Christian or Mahometan, who may pass through the ranks of either party without any fear of molestation; nay, so great is the influence of the fair sex over these fierce warriors, that a woman can at any time cause a suspension of hostilities, when the cause of dispute is left to the arrangement of the elders.

CHAPTER XXI.

The importance of Tchernegora as a military position—Its natural defences—Historical sketch of Tchernegora—Extraordinary bravery of the mountaineers—Their wars with the Turks—How they recovered their independence—The Vladika Petrovich—Perfidy of the Pacha of Scutari—Massacre of the Turks—Peter the Great of Russia—His alliance with Tchernegora—Victories of the Tchernegori over Marshal Marmont and the French—Their wars with the Austrians—Form of government in Tchernegora—Religion, customs and manners of the people.

THE importance of Tchernegora is entirely referrible to its mountain character, and the ill-judged suicidal policy of the Ottoman Porte, in oppressing and persecuting its Christian subjects for so many centuries (to whom the impregnable fastnesses of this mountain fortress have proved a secure asylum), has been the means of adding to the enemies of Mussulman rule. Approach this singular district

from whatever direction, and you see before you a calcareous wall of rock, its various peaks towering to a height in some places of from six to eight thousand feet, in others from four thousand and upwards. A chain of inferior altitude descends into the interior, which divide and subdivide the country in various directions; even the rivers as they flow from the mountains take a circuitous course, offering at every angle a succession of projecting crags, Nature's own formidable bulwark of defence. In fact, so complete are the natural fortifications of Tchernegora, that there is no communication between it and the adjoining provinces except from the Lake of Scutari, and from Novi-bazar, by crossing the lesser heights of Mount Jelieb and the Komm, and then following the tortuous windings of the Moratscha; and this, by a footpath so precipitous and difficult to traverse, that all merchandize is obliged to be transported on the backs of men and women.

This mountain district is more generally known under the Italian name, Montenegro. The Osmanli call it Kara-dagh; the Albanians, Mail Zéze; and the inhabitants by its Slavonian name, Tchernegora (black mountains), which we have adopted throughout this work. Indeed, wherever it has been practicable, we have always given those names of rivers, mountains, towns and districts, which we found in

general use among the inhabitants, rather than follow those given by the Turks in their own language, and which proves a fruitful source of embarrassment and confusion to the traveller.

The primitive history of Tchernegora commences with its first chief, Strascimir, grandson of Lazar, the Kral of Servia, who fell in battle against Sultan Amurath on the fatal field of Cossova. Strascimir, who obtained the soubriquet of Tchernoi (black), on account of his dark hair and complexion, having escaped the sword of the Turks, rallied around him several powerful chiefs of his nation, established himself in the fastnesses of these mountains, and became so formidable to the Osmanli, and popular among his followers, as to bequeath his name to a district so justly celebrated in the subsequent wars between the Turks and the Servian tribes; this Strascimir—or, as he is better known in history, under the name of the Black Prince, Tchernoievich—also distinguished himself as one of the most valiant among the numerous chieftains of Servia and Albania, that followed the fortunes of the hero Scanderbeg.

Ivan Tchernoievich, the son of Strascimir, according to the piesmas of the bards of Tchernegora, is, in reality, the hero of the country; they still sing his numerous victories over the Turks, with a freshness as if they had only taken place a few years since.

One of the finest warlike songs of these people celebrates the victory of Ivan, in conjunction with his allies the Venetians, under Antonio Loredano, when the Osmanli, commanded by their most warlike Sultan, Mahomet II., were completely beaten. But his good fortune was of short duration. The Turkish forces, now combined with the renegades of Bosnia and Albania, continued to advance on every side, till the hero, deserted by all his allies, after disputing the possession of pass after pass, and mountain after mountain, was obliged to hold his little court at Cetinie, a position impregnable by nature. Here he built a village, a church and a fortress, which has continued from that time down to the present day to be the capital of Tchernegora; and here, surrounded by his warriors, he made the famous decree which still exists among this warlike people, and condemns the man who deserts his colours to be driven from the society of men, assume the dress of a woman, and follow the feminine occupation of household drudgery, during the remainder of his life.

In process of time dissensions arose among the descendants of the hero Ivan. Macksim, his only son, quarrelled with his cousin Milosch, and slew him in a duel; Ivan, the brother of the deceased, not finding himself sufficiently powerful to avenge his

death, departed for Constantinople to demand the aid of the Osmanli; at the same time, Macksim, dreading the effect of his enemy's representations, resolved to plead his own cause, and lost no time in setting off for the capital. The Sultan, flattered by the visit of the two Slavonian chiefs, entertained them most sumptuously, reconciled their differences, and finally converted them to Islamism; from this time they became the warmest supporters of the Crescent, and as a reward for their bravery and fidelity, Macksim was created hereditary Pacha of Scutari, and Ivan hereditary Pacha of Ipek, thus dividing between them the whole of Upper and Central Albania; the descendants of the former continued in possession of the pachalik till the rebellion of Moustapha in 1833, and those of Ivan, down to the last revolt of the Albanians in Ipek, a few years since.

From this time, Tchernegora, deserted by its hereditary princes, the Government became vested in the spiritual ruler the Vladika; and the inhabitants, weary of their unequal contest with the Osmanli, consented to pay the harritch; at the same time Islamism made considerable progress among them, particularly as it absolved all who embraced that faith from paying any tax or tribute whatever, besides offering a career of military glory to whoever chose to embrace the profession of arms. Such was the state

of Tchernegora, till about the end of the seventeenth century, when the Christians of Zeta, in the vicinity of Tchernegora, having purchased from the Divan the right of erecting a church, the Vladika of Tchernegora, Petrovich Niegowich, was invited to consecrate it.

Relying on the assurances of perfect safety given him, and on the protection of a strong guard of pandours placed at his disposal by the Pacha of Scutari, in whose pachalik Zeta was situated, the Vladika set out to perform his sacred mission, but contrary to the laws of justice and good faith, on passing the frontier of Tchernegora, he found himself seized by the agents of the perfidious Pacha, and condemned to be impaled as a traitor, unless he embraced Islamism. Life was refused, at the expense of his creed, by the indignant Vladika, who was afterwards released, on the inhabitants of Zeta and Tchernegora paying the rapacious Pacha an exorbitant ransom, which reduced them to sell even the sacred vessels and ornaments of their churches. This base act of perfidy, on the part of the Mussulman authorities, was fearfully avenged by the Christians of Tchernegora and the surrounding districts, who rose *en masse* on Christmas Eve, in the year 1703, and massacred every Mahometan who did not submit to be baptized. This was the commencement of that horrible religious war, between the Arnouts

and the Tchernegori, which has continued, without intermission, down to the present day.

The warlike Vladika Petrovich Niegowich, worthy of being placed by the side of the Black Prince of Tchernegora, Ivan Tchernoievich, whose armorial ensign he assumed—the double eagle, became the terror of the Turks, and by his victories and wise administration, succeeded in securing to his own family the hereditary dignity of Vladika, which had been hitherto elective. Circumstances were also favourable to the establishment of national power in Tchernegora. The persecution of the Christians by the Mahometan authorities in retaliation for the massacre of their co-religionists, drove a multitude of desperate men to seek a refuge in the mountains of Tchernegora, and increased the army of the Vladika to twenty thousand warriors. At the same time, Peter the Great, of Russia, having declared war against the Turks, found an ally ready prepared to assist him, professing the same creed, and speaking a dialect of the same language as his own subjects, and thus revealed to Western Europe the existence of the little state of Tchernegora.

Peter, having made peace with the Ottoman Porte, abandoned his new allies to their fate. An interesting piesma recounts the despairing appeal of the hapless people to their brethren of the North, when,

in 1712, they found their mountains invaded by an army of sixty thousand Mahometans, under the command of the Seraskier Achmet Pacha, who had orders, in revenge for the assistance they rendered the Russians, to exterminate the entire population. A nation, however valorous, never conquers its liberty, but by concentrating power in a military chief, and the good genius that inspired the inhabitants of Tchernegora, to place their safety in the hands of their warlike Vladika, saved them from annihilation, and truly the destruction of sixty thousand fanatic warriors of the Crescent was a feat sufficient to place the warlike priest, Petrovich Niegowich, on a level with any of the greatest warriors of ancient Greece.

"At that dreadful hour," says the Tchernegora piesma, "when ghosts leave their tombs—when vampires stalk abroad—when nought else is heard, save the thrilling midnight crow of the cock; a host of black warriors descended like a torrent upon the Turkish camp. It was in vain that the haughty Bey and the fierce Spahi attempted to defend themselves; in vain they sought safety in flight, since every pass was an ambuscade, where they were slaughtered as peace-offerings to the manes of our forefathers, who died for the liberty of Servia, on the fatal field of Cossova. O Servian! wherever thou art," continues the piesma, "whether freeman

or slave, celebrate at least one day of July, in commemoration of the glorious victory of thy brethren of Tchernegora in 1712, and rejoice that so long as the black mountains exist, thou hast liberty and a country."

This great victory of the mountaineers of Tchernegora, whose warriors did not amount to more than twenty thousand, might appear almost fabulous, were it not confirmed in the history of the Venetians, who then occupied the neighbouring provinces on the Adriatic. The Sultan, furious at the destruction of his army, swore by Mahomet, if it should cost him his empire, he would not only exterminate the rebel Giaours, but blow up the mountains, and thus make for ever a passage into the nest of brigands. "To effect this," says the Tchernegora piesma, an "expedition of a hundred and twenty thousand men was confided to the command of the Pacha Keuprili, a descendant of the great Vizier of the same name, who figured as one of the most successful generals in Turkish history."

Keuprili, more anxious for his military reputation, than his character of a brave, open-hearted soldier, hesitated to attack a people who had already shown themselves such formidable antagonists; he had therefore recourse to duplicity, and offered the mountaineers an honourable peace in the name of the

Sultan, who was to acknowledge the Vladika as their reigning Prince, on their stipulating to pay to the Porte a trifling tribute annually. The bait took with the simple-minded mountaineers, particularly as it came from a Bosnian of their own race—a Slavon renegade; consequently, their principal warriors, the Sirdars and chiefs of the various communes, proceeded to the camp of the Pacha, for the purpose of ratifying the treaty, "where," says the piesma, "they were all hung as rebels, to the number of thirty-seven." The perfidious Mussulman having secured the chiefs, lost not a moment in falling upon the mountaineers, who, to add to their other misfortunes, found themselves without ammunition. A mournful piesma recounts the barbarities perpetrated by Keuprili and his horde of Mussulman savages, too horrible for publication. It is sufficient to say, that every human being, of whatever sex or age, who fell in their way, was massacred. Even inanimate things did not escape their vengeance, for, as usual with this destructive people, the towns, villages and hamlets were consumed, and every green tree cut down, till the entire country became a desert—a desolation upon desolation.

For many years subsequent, Tchernegora was not even heard of; however, a position so admirably fortified by nature could not fail to become the

refuge of the discontented Rayahs of the neighbouring districts, since in 1757 we find it again inhabited by a daring race, who were sufficiently brave and numerous to repel several successive invasions of the Turks, and even to carry their arms into the territory of their old enemies the Arnouts, and wrest from them several important districts inhabited by their Slavonian brethren.

About this time an impostor, assuming the title of Peter III., Czar of Russia, made his appearance among the mountaineers, whose plausible story so completely won upon their simplicity, that he reigned for four years, and became exceedingly popular. According to one of their piesmas, entitled Bogovanie (the work of God), they obtained under his rule and guidance another great victory over the Turks, in which they were singularly aided by a terrific storm of thunder and lightning, which set fire to the Turkish camp, and by igniting the powder destroyed thousands, while the mountaineers, to whom these storms were familiar, fell upon their enemies and totally routed them.

During the joint invasion of Turkey by Russia and Austria, from 1787 to '91, the mountaineers rendered considerable service to their allies, but at the conclusion of the war they were as usual abandoned to their own resources. They had now again

provoked the vengeance of the Turks, who attacked them with an immense force, under the command of the famous Mahmoud, Pacha of Scutari, a descendant of their own greatest chief, Ivan, the Black Prince. A spirited piesma, after detailing a succession of sanguinary conflicts, ends by relating the total discomfiture of the Mussulman army, and the capture of its valiant leader, Mahmoud, whose embalmed head, among the other trophies taken from the Turks, is still to be seen at their little capital, Cetinie.

The destinies of Tchernegora were now to be mingled with those of the great nations of Europe. Buonaparte, who, in his mad ambition, dreamed of conquering the world, trampling in the dust the political rights of man, here creating kings by a stroke of his pen, and there tearing asunder the ancient ties that bound nations to their hereditary princes, among his other infractions of international law, forcibly took possession of Venice and her dependencies on the Adriatic. The Allied Powers now saw the value of the warlike mountaineers of Tchernegora, and their songs record the victory they gained over the French, commanded by Marshal Marmont, and the powerful aid they rendered in driving the Gauls from the shores of the Adriatic, they also tell how, in conjunction with the English, they succeeded in

obtaining possession of the strong fortress of Cattaro, which, according to a treaty with their Vladika, was from henceforth to form a part of their territory, and which they had already made the capital of Tchernegora. But this did not suit the views of Austria, and by one of the articles of the Congress of Vienna in 1814, Cattaro, with the other dependencies of despoiled Venice, was handed over to Austria; hence, when the whole of Europe enjoyed the blessings of peace, Cattaro sustained a murderous siege, and it was not till the mountaineers had expended their last cartridge against the Austrians, and saw before them the horrors of starvation, that they surrendered.

The piesma, describing the seige, and the treachery of the Allied Powers, pathetically appeals to their old comrades, the Ingleski—the lions of the sea—to come to their assistance, and cause the treaty with their Vladika to be respected. England responded not, and the mountaineers had no other alternative but submission. They made, it is true, several ineffectual attempts to recover possession of a port which brought them in direct communication with the civilization of the West, so necessary to the prosperity of their little state. In 1840, the prudent Vladika, fearful of the effects of a war with so powerful a state as Austria, invoked the good offices

of the Emperor of Russia, to calm the warlike effervescence of the people when a treaty of peace was concluded with Austria, and the boundaries of the two states definitively marked; and for the first time, Tchernegora took its rank as a free state, and was acknowledged as such by two of the leading powers of Europe.

Previous to this event, in 1832, the Grand Vizier, Reschid Pacha, to whom we have before alluded, having quelled the revolt of the insurgent Mahometans of Bosnia and Albania, directed the whole of his forces — tried soldiers, and accustomed to victory—against the mountaineers of Tchernegora. He had selected a most favourable moment for his enterprize; the Vladika Petrovich, who had so ably conducted the affairs of his little state during times of great peril, was dead, and his nephew and successor had scarcely attained his eighteenth year. The wily Asiatic, unlike other powerful Pachas, who, to make use of one of their own favourite phrases, were doomed to eat dirt in their contests with the mountaineers of Tchernegora, had recourse to the potent agency of gold, flattery and promises. Those among the chiefs who were confessedly at variance with the family of the Vladika, or had any cause of complaint against their administration, were tampered with by his agents, and plentifully sup-

plied with money. Many promises of preferment were also given, and as Reschid in reality was friendly to the Rayahs, it was presumed his negociations would be successful with the Christians of Tchernegora.

Happily for Tchernegora, at this trying moment, its chiefs were possessed of more principle and honour than to sacrifice the independence of their country at the shrine of ambition and interest, the intriguing Vizier was therefore caught in the net he had so ably wove for others. Still, however much he felt convinced that he had secured a powerful party among the mountaineers, he cautiously hesitated to enter those narrow gorges and steep precipices, where so many valiant warriors of his race had found a grave; overtures were therefore made to the young Vladika, who was offered, by letters patent from Sultan Mahmoud, an hereditary crown, similar to that of the Prince of Servia. The answer of the youth showed him to be a worthy descendant of his great ancestor, the Vladika Petrovich Niegowich, which, according to the piesma, was to this effect:

"An Osmanli principality," replied the young hero, "is of no value to a consecrated Vladika of Tchernegora, enthroned in the hearts of his Christian brethren. If thou dost doubt that my lips hath spoken the truth, come as a friend and judge for

thyself; but I swear, proud Vizier, by Him who died to save mankind, that shouldst thou place a hostile foot within our walls of rock, thou and thy followers shall find a tomb among the myriads of thy race already buried in our mountains."

Notwithstanding the reply of the young Vladika, the Vizier Reschid, sometimes called Kurd Reschid, who firmly believed he possessed friends in the enemy's camp, and that nothing could withstand the bravery of the eager warriors at his command, who were burning to revenge themselves on the Giaours of Tchernegora, resolved to make the attempt, and, according to the usual policy of an Osmanli ruler, if he succeeded, people the country with a mixed race of Arnout-Mussulmans and Slavonian-Christians, so opposed to each other, that they never could coalesce.

Acting upon these conclusions, he ordered Namik Ali, Pacha of Scutari, with ten thousand well-disciplined troops to advance by secret marches into the interior of the country; while he himself, at the head of a formidable body of the Nizam, supported by the irregular Mahometan soldiery of Bosnia and Albania, entered by the less dangerous pass of the Moratscha, where he expected to be joined by the traitor-chiefs his gold had corrupted to his cause. The aspect of everything corresponded with the intelligence he received from his agents; not a single

hostile mountaineer was visible. With stealthy pace and blind confidence, the wary Vizier advanced into the interior, when, lo! according to the animated piesma of the mountain bard, as if by enchantment, the mountains and defiles echoed and re-echoed with the startling cry of "Death to the infidels!" and a shower of bullets from behind every jutting crag announced to the bewildered Vizier he was betrayed, and that nothing could save him and his army but a precipitate retreat. Nor was the fate of Namik Ali less disastrous; having forced his way as far as the village and defile of the Martinichi, expecting to be joined by the Vizier, he was there totally defeated. Since the unfortunate issue of this enterprize, the Turks have made no attempt upon the independence of Tchernegora.

We cannot state with exactness the amount of the population of Tchernegora, which is annually adding to its numbers and increasing its territory by forming confederacies with the neighbouring tribes of Albania, Herzegowina and Upper Moesia. We may estimate those that are directly under the government of the Vladika at about a hundred and fifty thousand; trifling in amount, but formidable when we remember that the entire population are accustomed to guerilla warfare, and invincible in their own mountain fastnesses, possessing, as we before

observed, all the heights that command the passes into Herzegowina, Albania, and that part of Upper Moesia included in the Viziriat of Bosnia. Notwithstanding the victories our mountaineers have obtained over the Turks, and the constancy with which they have preserved their independence, their little state hemmed in on every side by enemies—the Austrians, settled at Cattaro on its sea-frontier, the colonies of Mahometan-Arnouts on its land-frontier—the little state of Tchernegora, independent of its importance as a military position, is a mere nullity, and could not have existed in any other country, or under any other government than that of Turkey. At present it serves as a bulwark to arrest the intrigues of Austria, and a point of union in the event of any future insurrection of the Rayahs, since the whole of the intermediate country, with the exception of a few Arnout districts, is inhabited by tribes of the same race, and professing the same creed.

Perhaps there exists in no country so perfect a system of equality among the inhabitants as in Tchernegora; it does not, however, trespass either upon the rights, the property, or the power of their rulers. The government is patriarchal, vested in the Vladika, who bears the title of Vladika Tzrnogore i Brăda (Bishop of Tchernegora and the mountains),

and Skederski i Pomorski, metropolit (Archbishop of Scutari and the provinces on the Adriatic). The people rarely address him in conversation by any other title than Gospodar (Sir), or Svetie Vladika (holy bishop). The reigning Vladika has lately improved the representative system, so peculiar to the Slavonians of these provinces, by forming a legislative assembly, the Sbor, composed of a president, vice-president and twelve members. This is the highest tribunal in the land. The people elect senators, who also perform the duties of judges in civil and criminal cases, and receive from the public treasury a small stipend of about ten pounds a-year; this, however inconsiderable in amount, is found sufficient in a country where provisions are cheap, the manner of living simple, and where eloquence and probity, rather than wealth, constitute the chief claim to distinction.

The Vladika presides over the assembly, and no act is recognized as authoritative by the people that has not received the sanction of the senate, and formally promulgated in the name of the people and the senate. In addition to the legislative assembly held at Cetinie, every commune, or circle, has its Soviet, or meeting of the elders, in which the judicial affairs of the people are discussed; but should the decision be disapproved of by the parties

interested, the cause is removed to the supreme tribunal, the Sbor, where the sentence is final.

The present Vladika, who received his education in Russia, is gradually introducing among the people the manners and customs of the Western nations. He has established a printing press, elementary schools, organized a system of police, and imposed a regular tax to defray the expenses of the state.

The principal revenue of the Vladika arises from a pension given by the Court of Russia, amounting to about thirty thousand florins, an enormous sum in a country like this, where luxury is unknown, and where, in the absence of a metallic currency, commercial transactions are usually carried on by barter. In addition to this, he possesses certain hereditary lands, fisheries on the Lake of Scutari, and some trifling benefits as a dignitary of the Greek Church. So large a portion of his income being derived from his pension, some travellers, unacquainted with the democratic character of this people, consider the Vladika to be an imperial Natchalnik, and Tchernegora a Russian dependency. Be this as it may, we have shown that neither the Vladika nor the inhabitants of Tchernegora could render much service to Russia in an invasion of Turkey, and we doubt much that a people so republican in their principles and habits, would ever

become the contented subjects of any despotic monarch. Their great desire, and to accomplish which they have been struggling for the last half-century, is to unite themselves with their Christian brethren of Bosnia, Servia, Herzegowina, Upper Moesia, and the Slavonian tribes under Austria, on the shores of the Adriatic, and establish a Servian monarchy as it existed previous to the Turkish conquest.

In personal appearance the mountaineers of Tchernegora rather resemble their neighbours in Albania, than their brethren in Servia; there is the same nervous, lofty form, animated expression, and a certain degree of saucy audacity in their manners and bearing; they have also imbibed from their neighbours many of their customs and manners, particularly the belief in retributive justice, and that blood can only be expiated by blood, consequently sanguinary conflicts frequently break out between different tribes, which require all the influence of the Vladika to reconcile. Each commune or tribe has its own church and maintains its own clergy, who are not excluded by the sacredness of their profession either from wielding the sword in time of war, or from pursuing agricultural employments when peace allows the weapon to be sheathed; hence a pair of pistols and a poniard may be seen at any hour of the day in the belt of the Vladika and his clergy, and

though these may appear somewhat unsuitable accompaniments to messengers of mercy, it must be remembered that the entire population live in constant expectation of an attack from the Turks, who still assert their right of sovereignty; and notwithstanding their numerous defeats, emboldened by the success of Omer Pacha—the hero of the day against the non-reforming Mahometan rebels of Bosnia and Albania—have again come to the determination of carrying fire and sword into the mountain-home of these fierce and indefatigable warriors.

The gallant Croatian, to whose bravery and military skill the task of coercing these unruly tribes has been confided, may find it a task of much greater difficulty and danger than he anticipates: inconsiderable as the amount of the population of Tchernegora may be, so long as they remain united, they may be deemed invulnerable in the fastnesses of their mountain-home.

With respect to the non-reforming Mahometans, the case is totally different: it requires no great skill in a general, with a well-disciplined army, and the resources of an empire at his command, to quell their revolutionary outbreaks; for in addition to their own private feuds and jealousies, they find no sympathy for their cause among their compatriots, the Rayahs, who form the great majority of the inha-

bitants, and who must rejoice in the destruction of a privileged class, that so long ruled them with oppressive severity, actuated by Mahometan fanaticism.

Since the Servian War of Independence, with the exception of a few partial outbreaks, for the most part local, this bellicose nationality (the Servian), still subject to the rule of the Porte, have not made any combined movement to recover its independence—however much the majority of the people may desire it, and however much they may have been instigated to rebellion by a host of eager Panslavist demagogues, and this at a time when nearly the whole of the other states of Europe were a prey to anarchy and confusion. Still, this affords no proof that they are contented with the government of the Sultan: knowing this, and having had many opportunities of becoming intimately acquainted with the state of feeling among these people, we are not without serious apprehensions, that any attempt of the Turkish Government to deprive the mountaineers of Tchernegora of their independence, may be the signal for a general revolt among the whole of the Servian race, at least, the Rayah portion of it in these provinces, and perhaps extend to that of their Slavonian brethren, the Bulgarian nationality, who must be equally desirous to emancipate themselves from the bondage of a Mahometan ruler.

The Tchernegori have their sympathisers not only among their co-religionists of these provinces, but a numerous *clientelle* in the active and intelligent subjects of Austria—their brethren in race, and for the most part descendants of those refugees, driven by Turkish persecution to seek a home in the land of the stranger. Although the different members of this unhappy race have been so long estranged from each other, so long trodden down by the brutal and licentious soldiers of their foreign rulers—the Austrian, the Hungarian, and the Turk—the name of their country buried in oblivion, and its boundaries artfully changed from one district to another, so as to induce the belief in a traveller, that they were nothing more than helots in bondage to the race that domineered over them; yet their patriotism, their love of home, and the hope of winning their independence at some future day, never deserted them during their long captivity.

If we reflect upon the calamities that have befallen this race; if we dwell upon the blood-stained annals of that section who have lived under the Turkish dominion; the rapacity, bigotry and superstition of their rulers; the denial of all civil, religious and political rights to every dissident from the creed of the dominant power, and who, to preserve themselves from being decapitated by the first Mahometan they

met, were obliged to pay a poll-tax to purchase security; and if we remember that these were not the only grievances they had to complain of, we must wonder that they have been able to preserve some traces of civilization—some approach to intellectual culture. Neither can we feel surprized that, having now, as it were, awoke from the dream of centuries, they exult in the numerical strength of their nationality, and, in conjunction with their brethren dwelling in other lands, plot and combine in a movement which has for its object the complete emancipation of their race from the oppressive despotism of foreign princes, whose only title to rule is the sword, and whose system of government, since the establishment of their dynasty, has been to rivet still closer the chains that conquest had forged, and root out every remembrance in the people that they had once been a great and powerful nation.

Surely, if the wrath of Heaven ever fell heavier upon one race than another, it has upon that which had the misfortune to fall under the sway of an Ottoman ruler. In every other despotism, however barbarous and cruel, there was some redeeming quality; nations though bowed down by arbitrary rule multiplied and prospered, whereas the sceptre of the Turk has too fatally proved to be a moral simoon to all, whether Christian or Mahometan, that

reposed beneath its shadow; blasting them with its influence, and withering the sources of their vigour, energy, and well-being.

But everything in this world must come to a termination; an administration without tact, foresight or judgment, having at length exhausted every source of financial wealth in the country, in order to maintain large standing armies, so necessary to hold in check the revolutionary tendencies of a people wearied with the government of an Osmanli ruler, sees itself on the verge of bankruptcy, hastened by the annual revolts in Albania and Bosnia, to say nothing of the vast sums disbursed in purchasing the forbearance of a host of influential chieftains. This must be considered an unavoidable result in an empire composed of such an unnatural and heterogeneous mass of nationalities, opposed for the most part in creed, tradition and race, to the ruling power.

What resources has the Osmanli Government to support this extravagant expenditure? There is little industry or trade in the country; the indolent Mahometan creates nothing; the Rayah is principally engaged in agricultural pursuits, or some unimportant trade or calling. The commerce of the large towns is trifling, and almost entirely in the hands of strangers; and to increase the difficulties of the Government, if we view this vast empire with

reference to its numerical strength, we must pronounce it to be almost a desert; European Turkey alone, the most populous division of the empire, embraces an extent of territory larger than France, equally, if not more healthy and favourable to the physical development of man, and far more fertile; yet, including the inhabitants of the tributary principalities of Servia, Moldavia and Wallachia, the population is under fourteen millions.

What resources then has the Turkish Government to repel the aggression of a foreign foe, or put down any combined movement of its Slavon-Rayah subjects, the most numerous nationality in the empire, should they at any time raise the standard of revolt? and still further to cripple its strength and power, the fiery zeal of Mussulman fanaticism has long since burned out; and if we enumerate the Mahometans, whether Osmanli of the ancient race, or the descendants of the renegades of Bosnia and Albania, we shall find they comprise but a fraction of the population, completely lost among the millions of vigorous, robust Christians that surround them.

We have shown, that these mountain districts through which we had been so recently travelling, are everywhere the abode of a people, whether Arnout or Rayah, living in a state of wild freedom, eternally at war with a government which they consider invades their just rights and privileges, deeming the

imposition of taxes or tribute as an infringement of their independence, and however much they may differ in race and creed, or disagree among themselves; whoever first throws down the gauntlet, and sets the government of the Sultan at defiance, is certain to be regarded as a hero; and if he is shot or impaled, honoured as a martyr to the sacred cause of liberty and independence. Let then but a single tactico of Omer Pacha invade the territory of the free mountaineers of Tchernegora, and we shall find the Haiduc and the Ouskok population of the defile and the mountain again in arms, marshalling the industrious Rayah of the valley and the plain to the encounter of the hereditary enemy of their race and creed.

On the other hand, we have only to cross the Turkish border into another of these heterogeneous mass of countries and nationalities denominated the empire of Austria, where we shall find another vigorous Slavonian population impatiently submitting to the rule of a people with whom they have nothing in common, either in language, customs, religion or manners; and although separated from their brethren in Turkey by a military cordon, regulated with the strictest vigilance by a Cabinet aware of the jealousies and animosities of race, and ever expecting a violent rupture of so unnatural a connexion, they find means to correspond with and assist each other

in every movement, which has for its object the emancipation of their race from the bondage of a foreign despot.

If we review the system pursued by the Government of these two empires, it is indeed difficult to decide which is, has been, and still continues to be the most vexatious and harassing to the people—the barbarian government of the indolent fanatic Osmanli, whose code of laws is the Koran; or the perfected administration of the Austrian Camarilla, with its prying police, open violation of the privacy of home, the suddenness and mystery of its measures, its numerous and invisible agents, its hosts of priests and Jesuits combining together against all that is liberal or may tend to advance the intellect of man, as if they were struggling to preserve the existence of their order.

No sooner were these once flourishing little republics, Ragusa and Cattaro, with their commodious harbours, arbitrarily transferred to Austria by a decision of the Congress of Vienna, than they were deprived of their privileges, and their rights abolished by imperial decrees. Whether factious or loyal, the same fate awaited all. This was done for the purpose of elevating and adding to the importance of the Austrian Trieste, that imperial favourite, at the expense of the commercial prosperity of their maritime towns and cities; and so entirely destroyed has their trade become, that

the sight of a foreign flag entering one of their ports is now hailed as a wonder. Can we, therefore, feel surprized at the bitter animosity that exists among this unhappy race towards their foreign rulers, or their endeavours to free themselves and assume a political position among the nations of Europe? Here we have a numerous people, all of the same race, and speaking the same language, as completely severed from each other, for any commercial purpose, as if they were the inhabitants of different hemispheres. Austria, having possession of the coast, opens or closes her ports to the subjects of Turkey according as it suits her interest, and obliges them to sell their wares to her merchants at such prices as she dictates.

It is not our intention to enter into a lengthened discussion of so uncertain a problem, as the emancipation of that portion of the Slavonian race now subject to the rule of Austria and Turkey. Still it must be obvious that probabilities are in their favour: both these empires are held together by a slender thread; the component parts of both are too heterogeneous to admit of a lasting union; both show evident symptoms, by their convulsive movements, of an approaching downfal, and both are threatened with a national bankruptcy, the inevitable fate of every government that has no other means of ruling its subjects than by the sword and the instrumentality of a host of paid agents and priests.

That the symptoms of an intellectual revolution among this long-neglected race are everywhere visible, whether we wander in Austria, Hungary or Turkey, cannot be denied. Their leading men have become impressed with one great idea, namely: that by means of popular instruction, and their own influence and example, they may be able to imbue the lower classes with a sense of their degradation as slaves crouching beneath the rule of a foreign despot.

Again, to form a union between the scattered members of this branch of the Slavonian race—the Illyro-Servian nationality—a literary association has been established with a view to adopt the Servian, the richest and most poetical of all the Slavonian dialects, as the general medium of communication. A feeling of fraternity and mutual sympathy has only been universally encouraged, and by appealing to the tradition of their former greatness, it is hoped to excite a patriotic enthusiasm that will ultimately lead them to assert their existence as an independent nation.

END OF VOL. I.

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Map of
EUROPEAN TURKEY,
from the most recent Maps and Charts
IN THE POSSESSION OF THE
Austrian & Turkish Governments.
CROATIA
DALMATIA
SERVIA
BOSNIA
THRACE
ROUMELI
ALBANIA
MACEDONIA
ADRIATIC
IONIAN SEA
ARCHIPELAGO

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